California Journal

A MONTHLY DIGEST OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Supplement: 1971 Roster

Legislature Ranked Best in U.S.

Legislative Retirement System

ABC and Temperance

Reagan's State of the State

Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke...

...the Man, the Office and the Staff

January 1971 in Review

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Editor's Note

Our First Birthday!

With this issue *California Journal* celebrates its first birthday, and we are shamelessly proud of what we have achieved so far. We remember our nightmarish goofs, mind you, and we still have much to do, but the mere fact that we are here to mention it is sufficient cause for us to be pleased. This was not an easy year to launch a business venture of any kind, let alone a publication. Nevertheless we have about 2,200 subscribers now, and the fiscal picture appears relatively sound.

There are many, many people who helped us on our first shaky steps and who deserve credit: Gene Lee and the members of the Advisory Committee; the friends who lent us funds when things were tightest; the critics who showed us the way and pushed us when we strayed; the score of nameless people who wrote for us and the hundreds who shared their insights into what was going on; Gay Clark who has managed the complexities of our subscription department and a family of six without a word of complaint; the staff, wretchedly underpaid and overworked; and all our wives who have hardly seen us for a year.

But most of all thanks and credit go to the co-editors of the *Journal:* Jud Clark, Jerry Evans, Bill Geyer, and Vic Fazio. My name has appeared at the top of the masthead mostly because it's traditional to have only one name there. The term co-editor, however, would really have been more appropriate, because the decision-making, the writing and the editing have been shared responsibilities. Without these partners the *Journal* would never have survived the first year.

* * * * * * *

We will have to struggle through the second year without Vic Fazio, for in early January he was appointed Majority Consultant of the Assembly. Vic covered the political scene for the *Journal,* battling with notable success any personal partisan predilections he may have had. It is hard to imagine deadlines without Vic, but we wish him well in his new position.

* * * * * * *

Two changes in the masthead come with the new year. Russ Walton, former newspaperman and more recently Secretary for Program Development in the Governor's Office has agreed to serve on the Advisory Committee. He recently left the Governor's Office to work on a book or two and to write a twice-weekly column.

In the last six months or so Jerry Evans has participated more and more actively in planning and editing the *Journal* each month. If I argued above that five of us are co-equal in editing the *Journal,* then Jerry is more equal than others.

T. R. H.

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Contents: January in Review

The Lieutenant Governor and His Office 4

Ed Reinecke finds the expanded duties, opportunities, and staff of his office suit his needs as a potential gubernatorial candidate for 1974.

Interview: Lt. Governor Ed Reinecke 6

The Lieutenant Governor talks about his political past and future and the assets and liabilities of his office.

California's Legislature is Ranked Best in the Nation 8

A nationwide survey by the Citizen's Conference on State Legislatures finds California's Legislature leading in resources and organization among the fifty states.

Early Retirement Becomes Attractive Choice for Legislators 10

Thanks to a bonus provision in the Legislative Retirement System, every state legislator whose district is affected by reapportionment may consider retirement as an alternative to running again.

Temperance, Fair Trade and the ABC 12

The Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control continues to rule with a strong hand in issuing liquor licenses and enforcing compliance with the state's complex and often imaginative liquor laws.

Pressure Eases on State Water Planning 14

Report by Department of Water Resources says state now has adequate facilities under construction to meet water needs for 20 years, and can reexamine alternatives for future development.

Reagan's 1971 State of the State Message 15

Complete text of Governor Reagan's statement of his administration's philosophy and goals for the state in the coming year.

Conservatives Outnumber Liberals, Middle-Roaders 20

A recent California Poll shows that 40 percent of Californians label themselves conservatives, while only 24 percent call themselves liberals.

Late Campaign Spending Reports Point Up Weakness of System 22

Late filers raise total reported 1970 campaign expenditures to $26.5 million, but add to confusion of interpreting reports.

Tomato Growers Reject Supply Controls 23

Growers' fail to agree on a far-reaching supply management order, but stir up a major commodity controversy.

Governor's Staff Rearranged as Second Term Begins 19

Letter from Washington by Lou Cannon 25
California Calender 21
People in the News 24
State Government Reports 26
Voting Record 19

Special Supplement: Roster of Elected Officials

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Lieutenant Governor and His Office

Unlike most of his predecessors, Lieutenant Governor Ed Reinecke appears perfectly at ease as the Governor's understudy. That the former Los Angeles County congressman has easily become accustomed to the role is apparent in the way he guides the operation of the Lieutenant Governor's Office and the approach he takes to those political issues which he expects to be prominent over the next four years.

Reinecke became Lieutenant Governor in January, 1969, when he was appointed by Reagan to replace Robert Finch. The office has not always suited its occupant as well as it has Reinecke. Like the nation's Vice Presidency, the chief duty the state constitution imposes on the Lt. Governor is simply to be ready to become Governor in the event the occasion should arise. Since chief executives do not usually offer much encouragement for such preparation, lieutenant governors have had to console themselves with their second most important constitutionally-imposed duty — presiding over the Senate. And their power in that body is limited to voting in the unlikely event the Senate finds itself deadlocked with all votes cast.

Gubernatorial Candidate

Reniecke, however, has not had to live with the same degree of frustration that has plagued other gubernatorial understudies. When he was appointed to complete Finch's term, he needed some time in the office to establish a statewide reputation. But now that he has succeeded in an election, the governor has gone on record that he will not be a candidate to succeed himself in 1974, and Reinecke is no longer inhibited by the the unwritten law that a Lieutenant Governor may not openly covet the post of Governor.

New Responsibilities

Having no real power of his own, the Lieutenant Governor must depend on the Governor for assignments of executive responsibility (other than his membership on boards, such as the U.C. Board of Regents, on which he serves as an ex-officio member). As Reagan's personal choice for the Lieutenant Governorship, Reinecke has met few obstacles within the administration in selecting those programs on which he wants to work.

Recently Reagan has issued a series of executive orders transferring numerous executive agencies to the custody of the Lieutenant Governor. Whether by design or not, the functions of these units are also consistent with Reinecke's need to speak out on politically attractive issues.

The specific areas of responsibility are: management services (coordinating and controlling the use of EDP in state government); governmental relations (coordinating intergovernmental programs and liaison with federal and local governments, including the Model Cities program); environmental policy (coordinating and developing recommendations for state action on environmental problems); and commerce (promoting industry and tourism). All these activities were transferred to the Lieutenant Governor from other agencies (see organization chart) by action of the Governor.

Reinecke candidly admits that his close relationship to Reagan is his chief asset as Lieutenant Governor. There is also a liability, however, in serving and supporting a two-term governor who must inevitably make decisions which are unpopular with large segments of California voters. This liability is recognized but minimized by Reinecke, who says he has no problem aligning himself behind Reagan's most controversial decisions because in the same circumstances they are the decisions he would have made.

Lieutenant Governor's Staff

The Lieutenant Governor's responsibility for the coordination of various programs is the main function of his 5-man staff.

Reinecke's key staff aides are:

V. G. "Chip" Nielsen, Executive Assistant. Nielsen, 28, has already had an impressive career in state service. He was graduated from Yale in 1964 and was a Coro Foundation intern in 1964-65 during which time one of his assignments was with the congressional campaign of an unknown businessman named Reinecke. In 1966, he worked on the Flournoy for Controller campaign; in 1967-68, he was Assistant Deputy Controller; and in 1969, Chief Administrative Officer for the Assembly until September when he joined Reinecke's staff. As executive assistant, he directs the work of the Lt. Governor's staff and has specific responsibilities for overseeing the operations of the Office of Management Services.

Ronald B. Frankum, Assistant for Governmental Relations. Frankum, 35, developed the concept of an office devoted to intergovernmental management and serving as a contact and clearing house for coordination and review of federal grant programs within California. The office, which exists solely by executive order of the Governor, works with the staffs of the Council on Intergovernmental Relations and the Intergovernmental Board on EDP. Further, the Model Cities Liaison Group is coordinated by this office. Frankum, a graduate of the University of San Diego Law School, served as a field director for the Republican State Central Committee before joining the Reagan administration.

Peter Tweedt, Assistant for Environment and Education. Tweedt, aged 37, is a graduate of San Jose State College and came to Sacramento first as Secretary to the California Highway Commission. His duties are essentially liaison with the boards and commissions on which Reinecke serves. For the most part, these are in the areas of education (the Regents and the Trustees) and environment (State Lands Commission, Environmental Quality Study Council).

In an effort to coordinate state policy on the environment, the Governor established by executive order an Environmental Policy Committee which Reinecke chairs and which is coordinated by Tweedt. All of the agencies having responsibility in this field are members of the committee.

James Woodworth, Press Secretary. Woodworth, at 47, has been in newspaper work for 23 years. He handles all of the press duties.

Steve Merksamer, Assistant for Public Affairs. Merksamer, 23, is a graduate of Claremont Men's College. He joined Reinecke's staff after serving briefly on the Assembly Majority Staff. He handles scheduling and speaking engagements.

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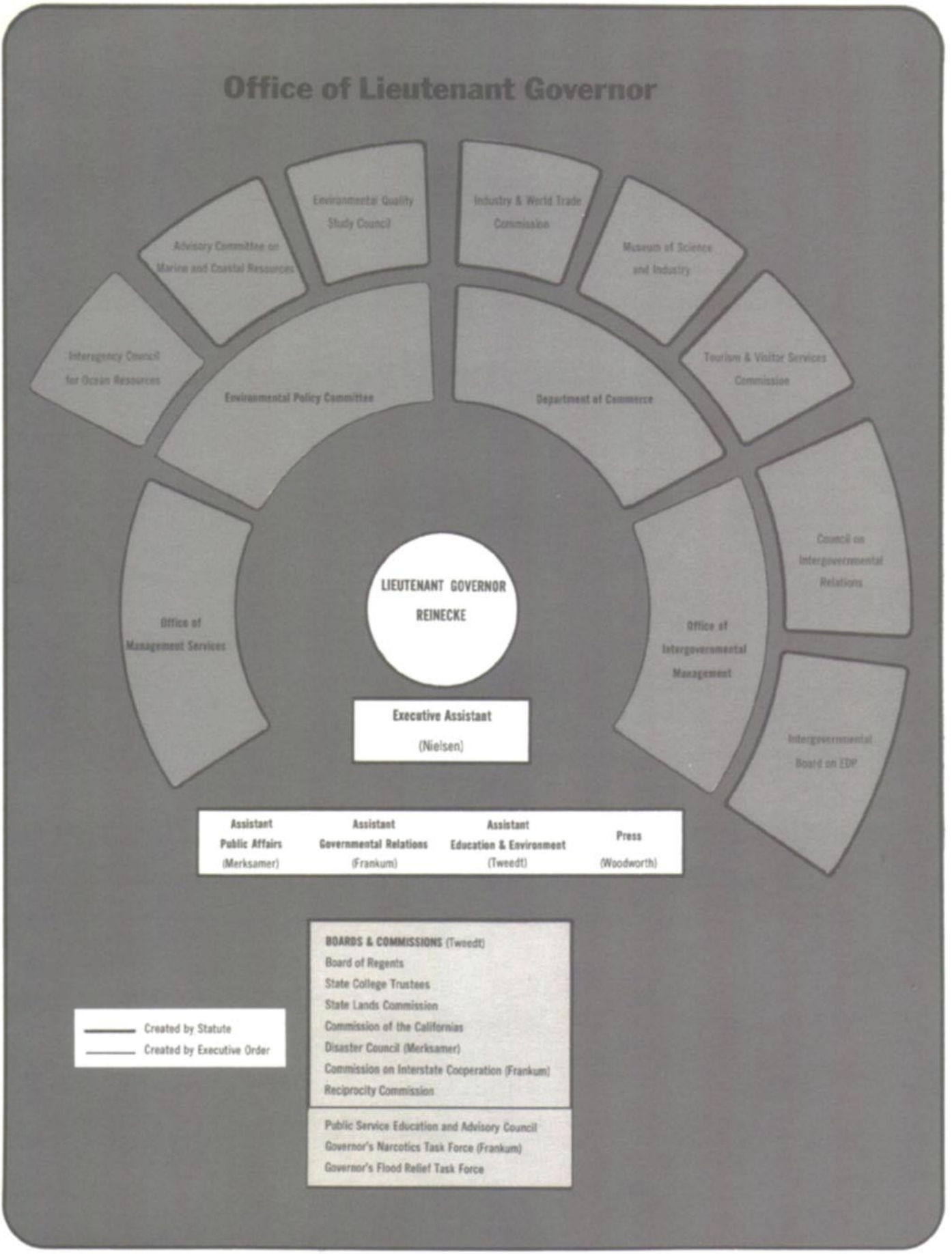
Office of Lieutenant Governor
Environmental Quality Study Council
Industry & World Trade Commission
Advisory Committee on Marine and Coastal Resources
Museum of Science and Industry
Interagency Council for Ocean Resources
Environmental Policy Committee
Department of Commerce
Tourism & Visitor Services Commission
Council on Intergovernmental Relations
Office of Management Services
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR REINECKE
Office of Intergovernmental Management
Executive Assistant (Nielsen)
Intergovernmental Board on EDP
Assistant Public Affairs (Merksamer)
Assistant Governmental Relations (Frankum)
Assistant Education & Environment (Tweedt)
Press (Woodworth)
BOARDS & COMMISSIONS (Tweedt)
Board of Regents
State College Trustees
State Lands Commission
Commission of the Californias
Disaster Council (Merksamer)
Commission on Interstate Cooperation (Frankum)
Reciprocity Commission
Public Service Education and Advisory Council
Governor's Narcotics Task Force (Frankum)
Governor's Flood Relief Task Force
Created by Statute
Created by Executive Order

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INTERVIEW

Lt. Governor Ed Reinecke

California Journal: How does a widely unknown sprinkler manufacturer from Southern California get to be Lieutenant Governor?

Lt. Governor Ed Reinecke: Well, it wasn't easy. I guess the question really is how did I get into politics at all, and why Congress first and then here. I was a small businessman, and I just became more and more concerned about the lack of opportunity for a small businessman to innovate and get ahead and do what he wanted to. Most of my frustration came from what I saw coming out of Washington. I felt that the knowledge and the attitude was such that they really didn't care about the little guy, and that if they didn't know or care about small business more than what I saw, then somebody should go back there and tell them what it was all about. So I did. And when I got there I found it was a lot worse than I thought it was.

I really never asked the Governor why he chose me to be Lieutenant Governor. I know that there were others being considered and there were some that really wanted the job. An interesting part was that a number of people called me. I had heard my name was being kicked around and I wasn't that anxious. I was delighted with what I was doing back there, just reelected to a third term, and I was getting to the point where I knew my way around. I would have been a ranking member of a subcommittee in the next Congress, and so things were looking very good.

When people asked me if I wanted them to give me a recommendation, I said do me a favor and don't do anything. It went that way from right after it became evident that Bob Finch was leaving up until the 24th of December. I said if they really are considering me, I owe it to him either to say yes, I'm a candidate or no, I'm not. So, I had my office get a copy of the budget indicating some of the responsibilities, what there was in writing, at least, and I found out it was a lot better than I thought. So I made a call to four friends. I made them promise first of all that what I was telling them would go no further, and then what I told them was that if they were asked by the Governor, but only if he asks, tell him "Yes, I'll accept."

That was the whole operation as far as I knew, and I went to Washington and got back to business, and all of a sudden I got a phone call, and that was it. It was just that simple. We really didn't know each other very well.

Journal: In relation to what you were doing in Congress, what attracted you to the Lieutenant Governorship?

Reinecke: It was again recognizing how difficult it is to make big changes in Washington. I fought, for instance, this idea of giving to the United Nations the ownership of everything beyond the continental shelf. I fought it for 3 years and I thought, frankly, it was a Democratic administration and its influence on the State Department that was doing it. Until I got out here, and I found out it came out over Nixon's signature. I only offer this as an example of how there's a tremendous momentum built up by the bureaucracy in Washington, fantastic momentum, so powerful that the relatively light sprinkling of appointive and elected officials that overlays and supervises the whole Washington operation can't really stop this basic engine that grinds away and moves forward.

I felt that it was going to be so difficult to make fundamental changes, that the real opportunity was not going to be in Washington. The real opportunity was going to be at the state and local level, because the competency of state and local government, I felt, was coming up very rapidly, and that the capability is here. I think if we do want to preserve the concept of a government that has some degree of sensitivity to the people and does not get so institutionalized and so bureaucratic that it loses that sensitivity, then we've got to work and work very hard at building the authority and the responsibility and the accountability at the local and state level. So that was the real reason.

Journal: It seems fair to say that you've been fairly close to the Governor during the time that you've been here, and in the public mind you're closely identified with his political philosophy and his positions. Is that an accurate description?

Reinecke: Yes. It's an interesting thing. As I say, we really didn't know each other. We'd never discussed anything political. I remember sitting at his table at one big political dinner in Washington. Outside of that, I guess I met him at a couple of cocktail parties, and that's really the total experience that we shared. I wrote a few letters to him as a congressman, but that was all. So it's been very interesting to see that we might not always agree on the method, but I have yet to find a place where we differed on our objectives.

Journal: You find yourself generally agreeing with the decisions that are made by the administration and agreeing with the position the Governor takes, such as his opposition to the family assistance plan, for example?

Reinecke: Yes, I think so.

Journal: The CRLA veto?

Reinecke: Right. The places where I have found any little difference at all have not been with him. Because so many of the decisions are presented to him by staff, or one of the agencies, or something of this nature. It's just that I might ask some questions and maybe change that routing a little bit. But presented with the alternative of yes or no type questions that he has to answer, I think that I would make the same decisions in every case.

Journal: As a candidate for Governor, do you see any particular liabilities in your having served as Lieutenant Governor?

Reinecke: No. I think it's a tremendous asset. Obviously, I'm going to come out of this thing more

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familiar with the functions, not only of the Governor, and the executive branch, but just generally aware of what's going on in state government, and also having the advantage of having served in a legislative capacity. So I think I really have got a very comfortable position.

Journal: Any incumbent governor picks up some liabilities having served eight years in office. Do you see any of those liabilities accruing to you?

Reinecke: Undoubtedly there will be some, and I think you can see it in the results of the last election. I think we polled 80,000 more than the Governor, not that we should have done more or less, but I think it can pretty safely be said that anybody that voted for him probably voted for me, and there were a few that for some reason wouldn't vote for him but still voted for me. I think this is an indication that people do tie us together.

Journal: Looking over the next four years, are there any particular positions which you feel you will be able to take which will give you some separate identification in the public's mind?

Reinecke: There are four areas that I want to become known for. Not just known publicly or politically, but to do something about. Because, even during the last two years, looking over the situation and realizing that this office doesn't have a great deal of authority as such, the best thing I can do is do a good job, and the fallout from that will do more for me than a lot of arm-waving speeches could ever do.

Hugo

I have tried to perform well on the diffierent committees and boards and commissions that I have been assigned. I intend to do that again, and I want to specialize in several areas. One is higher education and addressing myself to the young people in particular. This was decided before the 18-year-old vote came along, so it's not one of political expediency. It's just that I see a tremendous resource that I don't think is being utilized like it should be.

The Governor's whole background comes from the profession he was in. He's always been center stage. I came from the other side of the ledger. I've spent plenty of time digging ditches. I used to be in the lawn sprinkler business, so I've been essentially in the plumbing trade, and I've come up from a very humble approach and a relatively poor family situation. I'm very much aware of the needs of the people, the "have-nots" or however you want to call them. I like to think that I'm more sensitive to those needs and urgently so in terms of government. The Governor is a very compassionate man, but if you haven't fought in the streets you don't know what it's like to be in the streets. I do feel this sensitivity. Anyway, young people and education is one.

Second is environment. I've always been interested in that. I've done a lot of work in that, and I intend to continue. A third area is intergovernmental relations, primarily state and local but also with the federal government. And this gets back to the reason I mentioned before that I came here. I think we need to re-examine constantly the whole philosophy of government. We have a report on what we call the allocation of public services. We are re-evaluating all the state subvention programs to see where the benefits lie and who is in the best position to pay for these programs.

And the fourth is jobs. I can't help but feel that if you keep everybody on the payroll you solve a whole lot of other problems that you don't have to deal with at the state or any other level. This is the reason I was pleased that the Department of Commerce has just been transferred to this office. We're going to have to get a lot of cooperation from the private sector, from the chambers of commerce, from labor organizations, anywhere we can get it.

What we are trying to do is aid and encourage new factories to locate from out-of-state into California. I think just as important, perhaps even more so, is what no one talks about — making darn sure that we don't lose any more than we've already lost.

Journal: Your prime function as Lieutenant Governor is to prepare to be Governor in the event that becomes necessary, and at the same time to justify your continued existence while you're preparing to do that. How have you found that role?

Reinecke: Well it hasn't been at all difficult, primarily because the Governor has been so cooperative. There's been no shortage of opportunities to do things. His words were that he'd like to see me in an executive vice-president type function where I'd stand right in alongside him on decisions of any significance. I know that greater responsibility is put in the office now than ever before, and I think it's simply because the Governor is a man who is trying, and is perfectly willing, to give me the opportunities. In fact, if he didn't I don't think I'd want the job.

Journal: But this is dependent upon your relationship with the Governor.

Reinecke: Very much. Some of it is statutory — the Regents, the Trustees, and State Lands Commission. There are two or three others, but three-fourths of the job is set by executive order. This is the reason I strongly support the idea of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor running as a single ticket on the ballot. I can see where it would be very difficult for the Governor just to leave the state if there was a political adversary sitting up here. This shouldn't be looked at as just another political office when you stop and think that, God forbid, something happens to this Governor or any other Governor, that all of a sudden a new man is thrust in there without any preparation, without really knowing what's going on. The whole state skips a beat, and it may be sixty or ninety days before this man can really get up to speed and really find out what's going on. That's a long time in the state government. A lot of things happen. Many millions of dollars are passing hands, and so that's why it's essential to have continuity of administration.

Journal: Do you foresee the 1974 race, at least the Republican primary for Governor, being as crowded as it looks like it might be at this point?

Reinecke: You can speculate on all kinds of things about that. I am just trying to keep my nose pretty much to the wheel doing a good job. Right now I am aiming at '72. There is another election there that I think is very important to us also. If we do that properly, I think then starting in '73 we can begin to worry about '74. I am not letting anything go by me, don't misunderstand, but I am not starting now to build a '74 committee.

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California's Legislature is Ranked Best in the Nation by Survey

The California Legislature ranks first in the nation in terms of the overall quality of its procedures and operations according to the report of a 14-month evaluation of the nation's legislatures released on February 3rd. The study was conducted by the Citizens conference on State Legislatures, a nationally respected association working to promote modernization of the states' legislatures.

The overall comparative ranking was based on evaluations in five categories: functionality, accountability, information handling capacity, independence, and representativeness. The two houses of the Legislature (they were not scored separately) ranked high on each of the five major criteria of the study, scoring first in the functional category, third in accountability, second in information handling, third in independence, and second in representativeness.

Among the outstanding features of the California Legislature which are cited in the report are: the amount and quality of professional staffing; the physical facilities provided for legislators and public hearings; the high quality and prompt production of records and documents; the explicit and detailed rules governing procedure; the rate of compensation for legislators (at $19,200 a year, plus expenses, the highest in the nation); and the fact that the Legislature is free to extend each session as long as is required to accomplish its work.

Recommendations

Improvements recommended by the Citizens Conference deal with the committee system, inter-house coordination, minority party participation, and information accompanying bills. The study finds that the California Legislature has too many committees and that legislators have too many committee assignments. In addition, published rules of committee procedure are needed, as well as public access to committee reports and roll calls showing how each member voted. Better minority member representation on committees, statements of intent by authors of bills, and preparation of bill summaries are among other major recommendations for the improvement of the California Legislature.

Larry Margolis, executive director of the CCSL and former aide to then Assembly Speaker Jess M. Unruh, stressed that the legislative evaluation study did not measure the product of the state legislatures, but only their procedures, operations and resources. But "procedures have a profound effect on the decisions a legislature makes," he said. "If a legislature is operating only minimally, without adequate staff resources, without adequate facilities, and without a great number of systems which allow it to respond to the modern needs of a state, then it would be difficult to expect that legislature to produce creative or even adequate legislation."

While it is difficult to quarrel with the premise that legislative improvements are necessary prerequisites to adequate legislation, there is no assurance that these changes will result in a betterment of the legislature's output. Interestingly, the California Legislature ranks first in those categories which are dependent upon the willingness of the citizenry to support the cost. Where the state drops from the number one ranking is in those areas in which the goals are obtainable by the exercise of leadership within the Legislature itself rather than through a higher level of expenditure. The categories in which the California Legislature is ranked third are areas in which, in the words of the report, "improvements are obtainable by a legislature which has the will to pursue them."

This points up a shortcoming of the CCSL study in that it takes a conventional approach to measuring the adequacy of the legislature in each state. With respect to many states whose resources are woefully inadequate, this method of analysis may well be justified, as Margolis contends, but California does not necessarily fit under the same blanket.

"Most of the shortcomings of a legislature," Margolis believes, "are the result of the citizens not giving the legislature the tools with which to work, and second, the legislature's fear of trying to ask for anything because of low public opinion or public apathy. If the citizens of a state tolerate — even compel — the legislature to be mediocre, they should not then blame the legislators." In California, the voters expressed their support in 1966 when a sweeping restructuring of the Legislature was approved along with a $10,000 per year increase in salaries and a cost-of-living provision.

Monagan Reform

Major legislation introduced last year by then-Assembly Speaker Robert Monagan, would have brought about a number of changes which the report suggests. The constitutional amendment proposed to do the following:

- Lengthen the legislative session from one to two years to allow bills to receive consideration over a longer time period;

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- Provide for the Legislature to convene and organize in early December instead of in January, thus shortening the lame-duck period and avoidin wasted time on purely organizational matters;
- Reform legislative procedures to reduce the end-of-session logjam of bills;
- Eliminate the veto session after each regular session, allowing for reconsideration of vetoes at any time during the two-year period;

CCSL RANK ORDER OF STATES

Overall Rank	State	Functional	Accountable	Informed	Independent	Representative
1	California	1	3	2	3	2
2	New York	4	13	1	8	1
3	Illinois	17	4	6	2	13
4	Florida	5	8	4	1	30
5	Wisconsin	7	21	3	4	10
6	Iowa	6	6	5	11	25
7	Hawaii	2	11	20	7	16
8	Michigan	15	22	9	12	3
9	Nebraska	35	1	16	30	18
10	Minnesota	27	7	13	23	12
11	New Mexico	3	16	28	39	4
12	Alaska	8	29	12	6	40
13	Nevada	13	10	19	14	32
14	Oklahoma	9	27	24	22	8
15	Utah	38	5	8	29	24
16	Ohio	18	24	7	40	9
17	South Dakota	23	12	15	16	37
18	Idaho	20	9	29	27	21
19	Washington	12	17	25	19	39
20	Maryland	16	31	10	15	45
21	Pennsylvania	37	23	23	5	36
22	North Dakota	22	18	17	37	31
23	Kansas	31	15	14	32	34
24	Connecticut	39	26	26	25	6
25	West Virginia	10	32	37	24	15
26	Tennessee	30	44	11	9	26
27	Oregon	28	14	35	35	19
28	Colorado	21	25	21	28	27
29	Massachusetts	32	35	22	21	23
30	Maine	29	34	32	18	22
31	Kentucky	49	2	48	44	7
32	New Jersey	14	42	18	31	35
33	Louisiana	47	39	33	13	14
34	Virginia	25	19	27	26	48
35	Missouri	36	30	40	49	5
36	Rhode Island	33	46	30	41	11
37	Vermont	19	20	34	42	47
38	Texas	45	36	43	45	17
39	N. Hampshire	34	33	42	36	43
40	Indiana	44	38	41	43	20
41	Montana	26	28	31	46	49
42	Mississippi	46	43	45	20	28
43	Arizona	11	47	38	17	50
44	South Carolina	50	45	39	10	46
45	Georgia	40	49	36	33	38
46	Arkansas	41	40	46	34	33
47	North Carolina	24	37	44	47	44
48	Delaware	43	48	47	38	29
49	Wyoming	42	41	50	48	42
50	Alabama	48	50	49	50	41

- Apply open meeting requirements to all legislative meetings unless specifically exempted by law.

The legislation did not pass, but new Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti has already endorsed the concept and another attempt to make these changes can be expected in the future.

Step Backward

In the case of one CCSL recommendation, the Assembly, at least, has taken a step backward. At the time of the study, there were 17 standing Senate and 21 standing Assembly committees. The study found this to be too many and recommends a reduction in the number. Yet this month the Senate again approved 17 committees and the Assembly increased its number from 21 to 27 committees.

Methodology

The Citizens Conference began the Legislative Evaluation Study in late 1969. The staff, with the assistance of a national panel of legislative experts, constructed a 68-page questionnaire containing nearly 200 questions dealing with legislative operations. After being field tested in four states, the questionnaire was used as the basis of on-the-spot interviewing in all 50 state capitols. Questionnaire and interview information were supplemented and verified by basic sources of legislative and government documentation, such as state constitutions, rules of procedure, and statues.

All of the questionnaires were answered based on information from the state's most recent legislative session. On-the-scene interviewing in all the states was completed by mid-1970. Legislative improvements and constitutional amendment results which some states adopted subsequently were not inserted into the evaluation machinery. The data gathered for each state were examined for accuracy and verified before they were submitted to several legislative experts in each state for final verification.

Each of the questions within one of the five main categories was assigned a numerical weight as a measure of its importance and the quality of the data received. The five principal categories were themselves given identical weight for the overall ranking, however, reflecting the CCSL staff's belief in the importance of "balanced development" for a state legislature.

Some of the results of more important questions were assigned to more than one of the system's five categories, having a different weight in one category than another. For example, treatment of the minority party has value in both the categories of accountability and representatives, and, as another example, compensation is considered in both the independent and the representative categories.

Alfred W. Baxter of Berkeley was consultant to the CCSL in designing and interpreting the study and was field interviewer for the nine western states. Baxter and the CCSL staff acknowledge that the selection and weighting of criteria and the evaluation of the data received were often highly subjective, but they also emphasize that so many individual items were covered that any errors in judgment offset one another; that is, a great many of the weightings would have to be changed to significantly change the results.

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Early Retirement Attractive for Legislators

The politics of reapportionment are based on a balancing of interests between the pursuit of party strength in the Legislature and an institutional fondness for protecting incumbents. One of the critical factors in this delicate process is the number of legislators who will decide not to run for re-election in newly apportioned districts.

The decennial reapportionment provides a natural decision point as both parties survey their prospects for gaining or solidifying control of the Legislature, and individual members assess their own political futures, choosing among running again for the Legislature, seeking one of the new congressional seats or other elective office, or retiring. The possibilities for retirement are by no means an incidental or negligible consideration, thanks to the interest in retirement benefits that legislators have shown over the years.

In other than reapportionment years, the benefits of immediate retirement pensions are available only to legislators who have put in 15 years of service, or who have reached age 60 at the time of retirement. In reapportionment years, however, a little known retirement clause slipped into the statute books in 1965 allows any legislator to retire with full pension if reapportionment results in a change, however slight, in the boundaries of his district.

The only conditions which must be met to qualify for this bonus under the special retirement clause (Section 9359.01 of the Government Code) are that the legislator be in office when the reapportionment changes are made and that he has served for a minimum of four years and is therefore eligible for entry into the retirement system.

In 1966, following the one-man one-vote Supreme Court ruling and the subsequent court-ordered re-

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The Legislators' Retirement System and Fund is administered by the Board of Administration and staff of the Public Employees' Retirement System. The system is an "unfunded system," as there are no cash reserves in the fund to meet its total annual obligations in benefit payments and the accruing liabilities of the active and inactive membership. Member contributions are established at four percent of salary and the statutory state contribution is contained in the annual General Fund appropriation.

The amount of the monthly pension is determined by applying a multi-factor formula to the legislator's salary at the time of retirement. The monthly pension is an amount equal to five percent of the first $500 of salary (plus a cost-of-living factor of 24.95 percent applied to this amount), and three percent of the salary in excess of $500. This base figure is then multiplied by the number of years of legislative service to determine the monthly pension. Following retirement, a cost-of-living increase is added each year to the base retirement benefit.

The maximum limitation placed on the pension is that it may not exceed two-thirds of the legislator's salary at the time of retirement. However, this limitation applies to the base benefit and does not restrict the application of the annual cost-of-living increase. In addition, a legislator who serves in any salaried public office receives a reduced pension during the time of such service which is calculated on the basis of a salary of $500, plus cost-of-living increases.

LEGISLATIVE RETIREMENT BENEFITS

Annual pension: amount normally receivable at age 60 or upon completion of 20 years service (based upon years of service).

Early Retirement Bonus: potential total bonus from 1972 to age 60 (based upon annual pension amount) for legislators who have less than twenty years service or who have not reached age 60.

SENATORS

Name	Years of Service	Annual Pension	Years To Age 60	Early Retirement Bonus
Alquist	10	$ 7,710	—	$ —
Beilenson	10	7,710	20	154,200
Bradley	20	14,147	—	—
Burgener	10	7,710	9	69,390
Carrell	14	10,794	—	—
Collier	34	15,006	—	—
Cologne	12	9,252	12	111,024
Coombs	6	4,626	—	—
Cusanovich	16	12,336	—	—
Deukmejian	10	7,710	16	123,360
Dills	17	13,107	—	—
Dymally	10	7,710	14	107,940
Grunsky	26	14,417	3	—
Harmer	6	4,626	22	101,772
Holmdahl	9	6,939	12	83,268
Kennick	15	11,565	—	—
Lagomarsino	12	9,252	14	129,528
Marks*	—	—	—	—
Marler	8	6,168	20	123,360
Mills	12	9,252	15	138,780
Moscone	6	4,626	18	83,268
Nejedly	4	3,084	2	6,168
Petris	14	10,794	11	118,734
Richardson	6	4,626	15	69,390
Rodda	14	10,794	—	—
Schrade	18	13,878	—	—
Short	18	13,878	8	111,024
Song	10	7,710	7	53,970
Stevens	10	7,710	4	30,840
Stiern	14	10,794	2	21,588
Teale	20	14,147	—	—
Walsh	6	4,626	14	64,764
Way	10	7,710	1	7,710
Wedworth	6	4,626	7	32,382
Whetmore	10	7,710	1	7,710
Zenovich	10	7,710	10	77,100
TOTAL				$1,827,270

*Senator Marks served for a period of time as a municipal judge and will be eligible for benefits under the Judges Retirement System. Therefore, his length of service and pension benefits under the Legislative Retirement System are indeterminate.

**Assemblywoman Pauline Davis receives credit for 6 years of legislative service for time served in the Legislature by her husband whom she succeeded in office in 1952. The application of his service to determine her benefits was made possible through special legislation enacted in 1963 and 1965.

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ASSEMBLYMEN

Name	Years of Service	Annual Pension	Years To Age 60	Early Retirement Bonus
Badham	10	$7,710	17	$131,070
Bagley	12	9,252	16	148,032
Barnes	10	7,710	—	—
Bee	18	13,878	5	69,390
Belotti	22	14,242	—	—
Beverly	6	4,626	13	60,138
Biddle	8	6,168	19	117,192
Brathwaite	6	4,626	20	92,520
Briggs	6	4,626	18	83,268
Brown	8	6,168	22	135,696
Burke	6	4,626	10	46,260
Burton	8	6,168	20	123,360
Campbell	6	4,626	23	106,398
Chappie	8	6,168	8	49,344
Collier	26	14,417	—	—
Conrad	26	14,417	—	—
Cory	6	4,626	25	115,650
Crown	16	12,336	10	123,360
Cullen	6	4,626	15	69,390
Davis	26**	14,417	5	—
Deddeh	6	4,626	8	37,008
Dent	6	4,626	—	—
Duffy	8	6,168	12	74,016
Dunlap	6	4,626	10	46,260
Fenton	8	6,168	4	24,672
Fong	6	4,626	15	69,390
Foran	10	7,710	18	138,780
Garcia	4	3,084	17	52,428
Gonsalves	10	7,710	7	53,970
Greene, B.	6	4,626	19	87,894
Greene, L.	10	7,710	6	46,260
Hayes	6	4,626	9	41,634
Johnson, H.	10	7,710	—	—
Johnson, R.	8	6,168	—	—
Karabian	6	4,626	26	120,276
Ketchum	6	4,626	9	41,634
Knox	12	9,252	12	111,024
Lanterman	22	14,242	—	—
Lewis	4	3,084	22	67,848
MacDonald	6	4,626	4	18,504
MacGillivray	4	3,084	7	21,588
McCarthy	4	3,084	18	55,512
Miller	6	4,626	20	92,520
Mobley	6	4,626	6	27,756
Monagan	12	9,252	8	74,016
Moorhead	6	4,626	10	46,260
Moretti	8	6,168	24	148,032
Murphy	6	4,626	22	101,772
Porter	24	14,237	—	—
Powers	10	7,710	10	77,100
Priolo	6	4,626	15	69,390
Quimby	10	7,710	23	177,330
Ralph	6	4,626	20	92,520
Roberti	6	4,626	27	124,902
Russell	8	6,168	15	92,520
Ryan	10	7,710	13	100,230
Schabarum	6	4,626	17	78,642
Sieroty	6	4,626	18	83,268
Stacey	6	4,626	23	106,398
Stull	6	4,626	8	37,008
Thomas	32	14,662	—	—
Townsend	6	4,626	18	83,268
Vasconcellos	6	4,626	20	92,520
Wakefield	6	4,626	7	32,382
Warren	10	7,710	15	115,650
Waxman	4	3,084	27	83,268
Wilson	6	4,626	21	97,146
Wood	4	3,084	3	9,252
Z'berg	14	10,794	14	151,116
TOTAL				$4,774,032

apportionment, 30 legislators, 15 from each house, were retired early, either by choice or as the result of an election defeat. The effect of the early retirement provision on the state treasury proved at once to be substantial. In fiscal year 1966-67, the first year in which the measure was available to eligible lawmakers, the expenditures of the Legislators' Retirement System jumped $56,610 (19.4 percent) to $348,041.

Early Benefits

This year both houses will be reapportioned to conform with the 1970 census figures for California. A slight alteration in each of 58 Assembly districts and 23 Senatorial districts will make up to 81 incumbent legislators eligible for early retirement benefits in 1972. The retirement option is available to the legislators whether they are defeated in their next election, simply resign, or lose their district completely through the redrawing of district boundaries.

The extraordinary retirement provision was first enacted to soothe the ruffled feathers of those legislators affected by the 1965 reapportionment. Although Governor Edmund G. Brown unexpectedly vetoed it in its original form, the provision soon reappeared and, in a slightly altered form, became California law for retired legislators and their families.

Under the basic provisions of the Legislators' Retirement system, a former legislator earns a full pension at age 60 or, regardless of his age, after twenty years of service. If he has served at least 15 years but less than twenty, he may receive full benefits, less two percent for each year of difference between his retirement age and age sixty. In every case there is an additional cost-of-living adjustment each year.

The maximum benefit for which each former legislator is eligible is determined by means of a complicated formula but cannot be greater than two-thirds of the amount of the legislator's salary at his retirement, plus cost-of-living increases. In addition, the pension of former legislators who subsequently serve in a salaried public office is calculated from a base of $500 per month, rather than his full legislative salary, during the period of that service. Thus Senator Hugh M. Burns, just appointed to the Alcoholic Beverage Control Appeals Board will receive a pension of $660 per month, rather than the $1,053 he would otherwise receive, in addition to his Appeals Board Salary.

Defeated gubernatorial candidate and former Speaker of the Assembly Jess Unruh recently applied for a legislative pension, based on his 16 years in the Legislature. Unruh will not be affected by the decennial reapportionment but looks forward to liberal treatment from the standard retirement program. Instead of waiting until age 60, Unruh is eligible for a "reduced" retirement pension immediately because he has served more than 15 years in the Assembly; he will be "penalized" the two percent per year for every year between his retirment age, 48, and age 60. This means he will lose 24 percent of his full pension of $10,650 a year. In the 12 years until he reaches 60 ever. In the 12 years until he reaches 60 years of age, years of age, however, Unruh will accumulate $97,000 from the state at a rate of $8,094 a year. And this will

(Continued on page 22)

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Temperance, Fair Trade and the ABC

William Bonelli, a Southern California attorney and educator, and a member of the State Board of Equalization in the 1950's, was charged with issuing liquor licenses to vacant lots and fictitious corporations and then selling them to his friends for $500 each; his friends sold them for $10,000 or more. Bonelli fled to Mexico and was never tried on these charges, but the seriousness of the Bonelli scandal led to the adoption of a constitutional amendment in 1954 which completely reorganized the administration of liquor licensing and the enforcement of liquor laws in California.

The 1954 amendment created the Alcoholic Beverage Control Department and gave the new department power "to license the manufacture, importation and sale of alcoholic beverages in this state, and to collect license fees or occupation taxes on account thereof," and " . . . in its discretion, to deny, suspend, or revoke any specific alcoholic beverage license if it shall determine for good cause that the granting or continuance of such license would be *contrary to the public welfare or morals,* or that a person seeking or holding a license has violated any law prohibiting conduct involving moral turpitude . . . "

Strong Hand

The new department thus took over responsibilities formerly lodged with the State Board of Equalization, but with a much stronger hand. In addition, it was given responsibility for carrying out the 1935 Alcoholic Beverage Control Act under which it was authorized to exercise "the police powers of the State for the protection of the safety, welfare, health, peace and morals of the people of the State, to eliminate the evils of unlicensed and unlawful manufacture, selling and disposing of alcoholic beverages and to promote temperance in the use and consumption of alcoholic beverages . . ."

In the wake of the Bonelli scandal, the State Board of Equalization retained only one important responsibility with respect to alcoholic beverages, the collection of liquor excise taxes which in 1970 amounted to approximately $116 million. Responsibility for the issuance of licenses for the manufacture, distribution, and sale of alcoholic beverages is lodged with the Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control (ABC), as is enforcement of the rules and regulations governing the conduct of those who are granted licenses. A third agency, the Alcoholic Beverage Control Appeals Board, hears the initial appeals of departmental rulings regarding licensees and those seeking to obtain a license.

Forty-Six Licenses

ABC issues 46 different types of licenses, but perhaps the most important are those for "off-sale" (liquor stores) and "on-sale" (bars, etc.) These licenses are authorized for issuance on the basis of the population within each county. According to the law, an off-sale license may be issued for every 2,500 men, women and children, and an on-sale license may be issued for every 2,000 persons. As the population in a county increases, new licenses are issued (although often a year or two later). As the population in a county or a portion of the county declines, an effort is made to transfer licenses to other counties with population growth, but this can only be done as they are released. As a consequence, urban areas with declining population often develop a much higher license ratio.

Prior to 1961 there was a free market in these licenses, and the price often rose above $50,000, especially when adjustments for population growth fell behind suburban expansion. In 1961, the Legislature determined that the price of a license should be fixed at $6,000, and set about to enforce that decision. The mandatory price, however, applied only to licenses issued after 1961, and this has led to a good deal of price juggling and concealment. The price of pre-1961 licenses has risen as high as $75,000 on the open market, encouraging those with restricted price licenses to resort to a variety of evasive tactics to achieve similar levels.

To obtain a license is a privilege rather than a right, according to the language of the state constitution and to those who administer the laws. An applicant must therefore submit to investigation of his character and financial responsibility. Moreover, after he has obtained a license he is constantly subject to unannounced investigation by ABC agents. The ABC maintains 20 district field offices from which it carries out its continuing surveilance of licensees. Acting on complaints from local law enforcement agencies, citizens, other licensees, and its own personnel, ABC agents investigated some 13,300 complaints against license holders in 1970. Roughly 2400 accusations were filed and 1700 arrests resulted from these investigations. Approximately 1600 hearings were held to determine whether licensees were observing the statutes and rules regulating the distribution and sale of alcoholic beverages and were not engaging in conduct which might be construed as contrary to public morals. Licenses were revoked in about 170 cases, with some other disciplinary action taken in most of the others.

DEPARTMENT OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE CONTROL

Origin: Constitutional amendment, Article 20, Section 22, adopted 1954

Function: Issues licenses and enforces compliance with laws regulating the importation, manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages.

Director: Edward J. Kirby — appointed by Governor Reagan

Staff: Headquarters in Sacramento with two division offices and twenty district offices throughout the state; approximately 445 employees.

Cost: 1970-71 budget of $6,027,000 offset by approximately $6.9 million in license fees collected.

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Promoting Temperance

According to many persons who are familiar with these statutes and rules, they are among the most detailed and complex in the nation. Although their ostensible purpose, according to the ABC Act of 1935, is to protect "the safety, welfare, health, peace, and morals of the people of the state, to eliminate the evils of unlicensed and unlawful manufacture, selling, and disposing of alcoholic beverages, and to promote temperance in the use and consumption of alcoholic beverages," it seems more likely that the purpose is the economic protection of the industry itself. If temperance were the objective, the fact that California is estimated to have some one million citizens who are alcoholics, and that it ranks among the top ten states in terms of the volume of alcoholic spirits consumed per capita, would seem to suggest that the laws have failed.

If, on the other hand, the primary purpose is to minimize price and certain other forms of competition among wholesalers, distributors, and retailers, then there is evidence that the laws have succeeded. According to a report prepared by the Legislative Analyst, retail prices of distilled spirits are approximately 20 percent higher than they would be in the absence of the fair trade laws. Nevertheless, ABC enforces price maintenance with much the same diligence and rigor that it applies to campaigns against immoral conduct on licensed premises.

The fact that the vestiges of the temperance movement are still present in ABC's charge to protect the public's welfare and morals is not merely the result of institutional lag. The liquor industry, which supports a sizeable lobbying operation in Sacramento often finds that past excesses associated with intemperate consumption of alcoholic beverages and poorly regulated marketing practices offer a convenient means of opposing any relaxation of the controls which preserve the economic status quo.

Industry representatives argue that the prohibition against price competition not only protects the manufacturers and smaller retailers but also the consumer. If the fair trade laws were eliminated, says James Reimal, former ABC director and now head of the California Retail Liquor Dealers Association, "the liquor business would be concentrated in fewer hands; these larger businesses would be able to buy larger quantities of liquor at lower prices." As a consequence, says Reimal, "there would be a temporary reduction of prices for the consumer, but soon prices would be jacked up by the new monopolists." At present there appears to be little organized opposition to these fair trade laws either within the industry or among consumers. Close observers see no likelihood of a serious challenge to liquor fair trade in California in the next few years.

Tied House

A related matter which is being challenged within the industry is the so-called "tied house" law. In essence this precludes any business relations between manufacturers, distributors and retailers and is a direct outgrowth of earlier scandals. In recent years, however, the formation of conglomerates with wide-ranging investments in a variety of businesses and real estate has created increasing pressure for some limited relaxation in these provisions.

There have also been efforts to do away with the so-called "dry zones" around colleges, university campuses, Youth Authority centers and certain other public and private facilities. In the case of dry zones around campuses, the avowed purpose ". . . . is to protect students in formative periods of their lives from temptations of alcoholic drink." Whatever the merits of this proposition in practice, there are frequently expectations within each zone (e.g., "grandfather bars" which predate the local restrictions) which enjoy a thriving business owing to their near monopoly status.

Appeals Board

It was the clear intention of those who wrote the laws and the constitutional amendment creating the Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control that it should be a very strong agency with undiluted powers regarding control of the manufacture, sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages. It was clearly intended, too, that the agency director should have great discretion in interpreting and carrying out the responsibilities with which he was charged with a minimum of interference from other agencies, including the Legislature.

When some legislators balked at this delegation of authority when the new laws and constitutional amendment were placed before them in 1954, a compromise of sorts was arranged, providing for the creation of an independent appeals board with limited authority to review the decisions of the department. It is the function of the Alcoholic Beverage Control Appeals Board to hear appeals from department decisions relating to penalty assessments and license actions. The board consists of three members appointed by the Governor who serve at his pleasure.

The board employs two staff lawyers who assist it in providing a quasi-judicial appeals forum between the department and the state courts. Although frequently challenged on the grounds that it contributes very little to the administration of the state laws, the board does hear a substantial number of appeals each year. In 1970, for example, the board acted upon 180 appeals, affirming in whole or part 98 of these cases, reversing and in some instances remanding to the department 22 cases, dismissing 38 for various reasons and granting requested motions in the remaining 22.

Protector of Public Morals

In all probability it is the broad discretionary powers of the department and the aggressive, uncompromising manner in which those powers have been exercised that has given particular prominence to the ABC's role as protector of the public morals. With the advent of nude entertainment in bars and the complexity of the legal issues raised whenever local law enforcement agencies attempted to ban such entertainment, it was apparent that ABC would be called upon to exercise its responsibility for ensuring that no licensed establishment permit immoral behavior.

Although ABC has made some accomodations to changing public taste in this area, it has not hesitated to bring to a halt what it saw as a testing of permissiveness which most licensees also wanted stopped. Its new regulations regarding entertainment, which, as they went into effect in August are reminiscent of the department's marketing controls in their attention to detail, are now being tested in the courts *(California Journal*, page 193, July '70).

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Pressure Eases on State Water Planning

The year began with good news for conservationists and other taxpayers from an unexpected source, the state's Department of Water Resources, caretaker of California's Water Plan. The department now believes that, because of downward revisions in population projections and estimated future water needs per capita, "sufficient water is developed by completed water projects, or will be developed by those under construction, to satisfy most urban and irrigation needs for about two decades."

In other words, the state now has a "breathing spell" in the development of water resources which will enable it to rethink its current development policies and to consider alternatives to the construction of additional reservoirs and waterways in the northern river basins. Among those alternatives are: increased use of ground and surface water supplies near urban areas, desalination of sea and geothermal water, increased reclamation of waste water, and alteration of current land use and urban growth patterns.

This does not mean, according to Director of Water Resources William R. Gianelli, that any of the state and federal water projects now being planned or under consruction can be halted, but it does mean that current plans to develop new dams, storage reservoirs, and conveyance facilities on the few remaining northern rivers which have not been fully exploited can be stopped, at least for a time.

New Projections

The department's findings are reported in a document entitled *Water for California, The California Water Plan Outlook in 1970* which is also available in a 42-page summary. The report, which is the first thorough up-dating of the department's 1966 report on the implementation of the Water Plan, presents new projections of statewide water demands in 1990 and 2020. It also discusses the various possible sources of water to supply those demands, based upon detailed analyses of water needs and supplies in each of eleven hydrologic areas of the state. The two most important findings presented in the new report, however, are not based upon the department's own studies.

The first of these is that the population projections upon which earlier water development planning was based are much too high. Recent revisions of population data for the 1960-70 decade (see *California Journal,* December 1970, page 354) indicate a sharp slowdown in growth. Based upon this fact, California's population of 20 million is now expected to grow to about 29 mililon by 1990 and 45 million by 2020, rather than 35 million and 54 million as projected only four years ago. The new projected growth rate is 1.75 percent per year compared to a 3.5 percent figure used earlier. This means a reduction not only in residential and commercial water use but also a proportionate reduction in the water needs of industry.

A second major finding — one which is not stated explicitly in the department's report — is that the new state and federal concern for environmental conservation (resulting from recent conservation campaigns) has established a set of laws and a new public attitude which is in sharp opposition to unrestrained exploitation of California's rivers for urban and agricultural water.

Among the new laws are the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 and the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act of 1968, plus California's Protected Waterways Act of 1968 and Environmental Quality Act of 1970. The Department of Water Resources, which once went about its planning with an engineer's absorbtion in technology and efficiency, now knows it must also show concern for "environmental quality, healthful ecology, and aesthetics." There is reason to believe that when these factors are given greater consideration, earlier decisions about the best sources of additional water will need revision because the delivered cost of water will have to include the environmental cost of trapping and conveying that water from its source.

Environmental Costs

Here the department confronts a very real problem: how to plan for and justify the cost of intangible environmental benefits which have no commonly accepted monetary value. The department says that it is increasing the use of systems analysis and including a wider range of development alternatives in its analysis from the standpoint of both monetary and nonmonetary values. But the technical language cannot obscure the fact that cost-benefit analysis of this sort is relatively primitive. For the foreseeable future, the preservation and enhancement of environmental quality is likely to remain an area for political rather than technical decisions.

It is too early for assurance that these findings from the Department of Water Resources constitute a meaningful redirection of state water policy. However, it does indicate that the department, criticized for narrow vision in its planning and a lack of concern for values other than those commonly accepted by water engineers, may now be willing to pursue with new interest some alternatives to the water project which were previously considered impractical and too costly.

WATER PLAN OUTLOOK IN 1970

The following are among the principal conclusions presented in the Department of Water Resources' report on its restudy of California's water needs:

- Sufficient water is developed by completed water projects, or will be developed by those under construction, to satisfy most urban and irrigation needs for about two decades. However, additional conveyance facilities are needed to deliver developed supplies to certain service areas.
- The favorable status of developed water supplies affords time to evaluate potential alternative sources of water and devote more attention to the emerging environmental problems associated with water conservation projects and the evolvement of definite public policies on such problems.
- Whereas major storage projects are not immediately needed for water conservation, flood problems are increasing, and the control of floods may warrant construction of storage reservoirs, which should include conservation storage when justified.
- The quality of water supplies is generally satisfactory throughout most of the State, with the principal exception of supplies from the Colorado River, and care must be expressed to maintain good quality.

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Legislature Organizes; Moretti, Mills Elected

After the initial flurry of activity in the session's opening days, when each house elected its leadership and heard the Governor's State of the State message, the Democratic Legislature gave most of its attention to getting organized, a task which took the remainder of the month of January.

New Assembly Speaker Bob Moretti, whose election had been a foregone conclusion for more than a month prior to the actual vote on January 4th, gave a clear indication that the Assembly was turning to new leadership when he passed over several veteran legislators for his first appointments. Ways and Means Chairman Willie Brown and Rules Committee Chairman John Burton, both of San Francisco, now hold key posts formerly held by Bob Crown and Joe Gonsalves, who are still serving in the Assembly.

Moretti also made some departures in his committee assignments by increasing the total number of standing committees from 21 to 27, and creating several new committee jurisdictions, one being environmental quality and another planning and land use.

The leadership election in the Senate took an entirely different form with San Diego Senator James Mills' election as President pro Tem in doubt until the Sunday before the session opened. Earlier, Mills was expected to have difficulty getting unified support from his fellow Democrats and was believed to need cross-over help from Republicans to secure the necessary 21 votes. As the session opening approached, however, two key senators, Steven Teale of West Point and Randolph Collier of Yreka, threw their support to Mills. Collier's support suprised many capitol observers, as he has been a staunch opponent of Mills' efforts to divert highway funds to other transportation purposes.

When asked if he had made any deals to get elected to the pro Tem post, Mills, a scholarly-appearing former museum curator, acknowledged that some "arrangements" had been made. Shortly after the election results were declared official, Collier accepted congratulations as the new Finance Committee chairman.

Spirit of Cooperation

The first official comments from the new legislative leaders indicated a conciliatory approach toward Governor Reagan. Both expressed a willingness to work with the administration in solving the state's problems, and both refrained from making comments to the press which were openly critical of the Governor. Reagan took up the same theme in his State-of-the-State message and made unprecedented visits to the newly-elected leaders in their offices two floors above the Governor's own first floor suite. Although Reagan denied that the visits signified any change in his approach to the Legislature, previously it was necessary for legislators to come down to his office to meet with him, a practice he followed even when his own party occupied the top legislative posts.

Despite the generally conciliatory attitude of the session's opening days, underlying conflict was evident, reflecting the wide divergence of views on several major issues between the Governor and the legislative leadership. Moving quickly to hold hearings on the Administration's Medi-Cal cutbacks, Speaker Moretti stressed that it was to be a fact-finding study, but even Republican Gordon Duffy, appointed by the Speaker as chairman of a Select Committee on Medi-Cal, indicated that basic differences exist between the Governor and the Legislature on the program's objectives.

Ways and Means Chairman Willie Brown may have suggested the key to the Democratic legislators' approach to the Governor in a comment about Reagan's speech. When asked what he thought about Reagan's welfare proposal to give jobs to those recipients who are able to work and pensions to those that are not. Brown replied, "That's an exciting concept, but the evidence is that they are not very serious about really doing anything."

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U.S. CONGRESS
SENATORS

Alan Cranston (D) — 11000 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 90024*
John V. Tunney (D) — 11000 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 90024*

REPRESENTATIVES

Name	Party	Dist.	Counties	District Address**
Clausen, Don	R	1	Del Norte, Humboldt, Marin, Mendocino, Napa and Sonoma	475 H St., Crescent City 95531
Johnson, Harold T. (Bizz)	D	2	Alpine, Amador, Butte, Calaveras, El Dorado, Inyo, Lassen, Madera, Mariposa, Modoc, Mono, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity and Tuolumne	324 Vernon St., Roseville 95678
Moss, John E.	D	3	Sacramento	Federal Bldg., Sacramento 95814
Leggett, Robert L.	D	4	Colusa, Glenn, Lake, Sacramento, Solano, Sutter, Yolo and Yuba	1522 Tennessee, Vallejo 94590
Burton, Phillip	D	5	San Francisco	450 Golden Gate Ave., S.F. 94102
Mailliard, William S.	R	6	Marin and San Francisco	450 Golden Gate Ave., S.F. 94102
Dellums, Ronald	D	7	Alameda	201 13th St., Oakland 94604
Miller, George P.	D	8	Alameda	1516 Oak St., Alameda 94501
Edwards, Don	D	9	Alameda, San Mateo and Santa Clara	1961 The Alameda, San Jose 95126
Gubser, Charles S.	R	10	San Benito and Santa Clara	361 Town & Country Village, San Jose 95128
McCloskey, Paul N., Jr.	R	11	San Mateo	141 Borel Ave., San Mateo 94402
Talcott, Burt L.	R	12	Kings, Monterey, San Luis Obispo and Santa Cruz	44 W. Alisal St., Salinas 93901
Teague, Charles M.	R	13	Los Angeles, Santa Barbara and Ventura	616 E. Main St., Ventura 93001
Waldie, Jerome R.	D	14	Contra Costa	Box 864, Concord 94522
McFall, John J.	D	15	Merced, San Joaquin and Stanislaus	146 N. Grant, Manteca 95336
Sisk, B. F.	D	16	Fresno and Merced	1130 "O" St., Fresno 93721
Anderson, Glenn M.	D	17	Los Angeles	255 W. 5th, San Pedro 90731
Mathias, Bob	R	18	Kern and Tulare	1500 S. Mooney Blvd., Visalia 93277
Holifield, Chet	D	19	Los Angeles	9125 E. Whittier Blvd., Pico Rivera 90660
Smith, H. Allen	R	20	Los Angeles	313 E. Broadway, Glendale 91205
Hawkins, Augustus F.	D	21	Los Angeles	8563 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 90003
Corman, James C.	D	22	Los Angeles	14422 Victory Blvd., Van Nuys 91401
Clawson, Del M.	R	23	Los Angeles	10241 S. Paramount, Downey 90241
Rousselot, John H.	R	24	Los Angeles and San Bernardino	735 W. Duarte Rd., Arcadia 91006
Wiggins, Charles E.	R	25	Los Angeles and Orange	11001 Valley Mall, El Monte 91731
Rees, Thomas M.	D	26	Los Angeles	816 S. Robertson Blvd., Los Angeles 90035
Goldwater, Barry M., Jr.	R	27	Kern and Los Angeles	10850 Riverside Dr., North Hollywood 91602
Bell, Alphonzo	R	28	Los Angeles	11000 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 90024
Danielson, George E.	D	29	Los Angeles	300 N. Los Angeles St., Los Angeles 90012
Roybal, Edward R.	D	30	Los Angeles	300 N. Los Angeles St., Los Angeles 90012
Wilson, Charles H.	D	31	Los Angeles	2813 W. Florence Ave., Los Angeles 90047
Hosmer, Craig	R	32	Los Angeles and Orange	Security Bldg., Long Beach 90802
Pettis, Jerry L.	R	33	San Bernardino	California Hotel, San Bernardino 92401
Hanna, Richard T.	D	34	Los Angeles and Orange	1695 W. Crescent, Anaheim 92806
Schmitz, John G.	R	35	Orange and San Diego	4340 Campus Dr., Newport Beach 92260
Wilson, Bob	R	36	San Diego	P.O. Box 469, San Diego 92112
Van Deerlin, Lionel	D	37	San Diego	P.O. Box 729, San Diego 92101
Vacant		38	Imperial, Riverside and San Bernardino	

*During sessions, mail for Senators may be addressed: New Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20515

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CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICERS

Name	Title	Party	Address
Ronald Reagan	Governor	R	Capitol Building Sacramento 95814
Ed Reinecke	Lt. Governor	R	Capitol Building Sacramento 95814
Edmund G. Brown, Jr.	Secty. of State	D	Capitol Building Sacramento 95814
Houston I. Flournoy	Controller	R	Capitol Building Sacramento 95814
Ivy Baker Priest	Treasurer	R	500 Capitol Mall Sacramento 95814
Evelle J. Younger	Attorney General	R	500 Capitol Mall Sacramento 95814
Wilson Riles	Superintendent of Public Instruction	—	721 Capitol Mall Sacramento 95814

Board of Equalization

Name	Dist.	Party	Address
George R. Reilly	1st Dist.	D	350 McAllister St. San Francisco 94102
John W. Lynch	2nd Dist.	D	2550 Mariposa St. Fresno 93721
William Bennett	3rd Dist.	D	1020 N St. Sacramento 95814
Richard Nevins	4th Dist.	D	333 E. Walnut St. Pasadena 91101

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SENATE

Name	Party	Dist.	Counties	District Address*	Capitol Phone
Alquist, Alfred E.	D	13	Santa Clara	777 N. 1st St., San Jose 95112	445-9740
Behr, Peter H.	R	4	Marin, Napa, Solano	1601 2nd St., San Rafael 94901	445-3375
Beilenson, Anthony	D	26	Los Angeles	1122 S. Robertson Blvd., Los Angeles 90035	445-7114
Bradley, Clark L.	R	14	Alameda, Santa Clara	First National Bank Bldg., San Jose 95113	445-3104
Burgener, Clair W.	R	38	San Diego	8690 Center Dr., La Mesa 92041	445-3731
Carpenter, Dennis	R	34	Orange	P.O. Box CC Irvine 92664	445-5831
Carrell, Tom	D	22	Los Angeles	753 San Fernando Rd., San Fernando 91340	445-3121
Collier, Randolph	D	1	Del Norte, Humboldt, Lake, Mendocino, Sonoma, Trinity	206 4th St., Yreka 96097	445-4641
Cologne, Gordon	R	36	Riverside, San Bernardino	P.O. Drawer 1270, Indio 92201	445-9781
Coombs, William E.	R	20	San Bernardino	P.O. Box 146, Rialto 92376	445-6868
Cusanovich, Lou	R	23	Los Angeles	14921 Ventura Blvd., Sherman Oaks 91403	445-8873
Vacant		27	Los Angeles		
Deukmejian, Goerge	R	37	Los Angeles	320 Fidelity Fed. Plaza, Long Beach 90802	445-4961
Dills, Ralph C.	D	32	Los Angeles	529 W. Eighth St., San Pedro 90731	445-5953
Dymally, Mervyn M.	D	29	Los Angeles	2622 Southwestern Ave., Los Angeles 90018	445-2104
Gregorio, Arlen	D	12	San Mateo	P.O. Box 906 San Mateo 94403	445-0870
Grunsky, Donald L.	R	17	Monterey, San Benito, San Luis Obispo, Santa Cruz	P.O. Box 1186 Watsonville 95076	445-5843
Harmer, John L.	R	21	Los Angeles	401 N. Brand, Glendale 91203	445-5976
Holmdahl, John W.	D	8	Alameda	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94607	445-6671
Kennick, Joseph M.	D	33	Los Angeles	110 Pine Ave., Long Beach 90802	445-5581
Lagomarsino, Robert J.	R	24	Santa Barbara, Ventura	21 S. California St., Ventura 93001	445-5405
Marks, Milton	R	9	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	445-1412
Marler, Fred W., Jr.	R	2	Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Shasta, Solano, Sutter, Tehama, Yolo, Yuba	P.O. Box 2297, Redding 96001	445-3456
Mills, James R.	D	40	Imperial, San Diego	326 Broadway, San Diego 92101	445-6767
Moscone, George R.	D	10	San Francisco	540 Van Ness Ave., San Francisco 94102	445-5981
Nejedley, John A.	R	7	Contra Costa	1393 Civic Dr., Walnut Creek 94596	445-6083
Petris, Nicholas C.	D	11	Alameda	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94607	445-6577
Richardson, H. L.	R	19	Los Angeles	735 W. Duarte Rd., Arcadia 91006	445-3688
Rodda, Albert S.	D	5	Sacramento	Room 4048, Capitol Bldg., Sacramento 95814	445-5788
Schrade, Jack	R	39	San Diego	1904 Hotel Circle, San Diego 92110	445-3952
Short, Alan	D	6	Sacramento, San Joaquin	2626 N. California St., Stockton 95204	445-5215
Song, Alfred H.	D	28	Los Angeles	2337 S. Garfield Ave., Monterey Park 91754	445-3386
Stevens, Robert S.	R	25	Los Angeles	1245 Glendon Ave., Los Angeles 90024	445-6747
Stiern, Walter W.	D	18	Kern, Kings	930 Truxton Ave., Bakersfield 93301	445-6637
Teale, Stephen P.	D	3	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Lassen, Modoc, Nevada, Placer, Plumas, Sierra, Stanislaus, Tuolumne	Room 5082, Capitol Bldg., Sacramento 95814	445-2407
Walsh, Lawrence E.	D	30	Los Angeles	6055 E. Washington Blvd., Commerce 90022	445-6517
Way, Howard	R	15	Fresno, Inyo, Madera, Mariposa, Merced, Mono, Tulare	P.O. Box 724, Exeter 93221	445-6447
Wedworth, James Q.	D	31	Los Angeles	8404 S. Crenshaw Blvd., Inglewood 90305	445-2848
Whetmore, James E.	R	35	Los Angeles	13163 Brookhurst, Garden Grove 92640	445-4264
Zenovich, George	D	16	Fresno	1060 Fulton Mall, Fresno 93721	445-9600

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ASSEMBLY

Name	Party	Dist.	Counties	District Address*	Capitol Phone
Arnett, Dixon	R	26	San Mateo	695 Veterans Blvd., Redwood City 94063	445-8188
Badham, Robert E.	R	71	Orange	1649 Westcliff Dr., Newport Beach 92660	445-7222
Bagley, William T.	R	7	Marin, Sonoma	225 Albert Bldg. San Rafael 94901	445-8492
Barnes, E. Richard	R	78	San Diego	3320 Kemper, San Diego 92110	445-7210
Bee, Carlos	D	13	Alameda	22734 Main St., Hayward 94541	445-7380
Belotti, Frank P.	R	2	Humboldt, Mendocino Sonoma	P.O. Box 1025, Eureka 95501	445-8360
Beverly, Robert G.	R	46	Los Angeles	1611 S. Pacific Coast Hwy. Redondo Beach 90277	445-1720
Biddle, W. Craig	R	74	Riverside	6370 Magnolia Ave., Riverside 92506	445-2390
Brathwaite, Yvonne W.	D	63	Los Angeles	4036 Buckingham Rd., Los Angeles 90008	445-7321
Briggs, John V.	R	35	Orange, San Bernardino	1400 N. Harbor Blvd., Fullerton 92632	445-7448
Brown, Willie L., Jr.	D	18	San Francisco	515 Van Ness Ave. San Francisco 94102	445-8077
Burke, Robert H.	R	70	Orange	17732 Beach Blvd., Huntington Beach 92647	445-8377
Burton, John L.	D	20	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	445-8505
Campbell, William	R	50	Los Angeles	101 S. Second St., La Puente 91744	445-7783
Chacon, Peter R.	D	79	San Diego	5106 Federal Bldg., San Diego 92105	445-7610
Chappie, Eugene A.	R	6	Alpine, Amador, Calaveras, El Dorado, Inyo, Mariposa, Mono, Nevada, Placer, Tuolumne, Yuba	Rm. 320, State Capitol Sacramento 95814	445-7298
Cline, Robert C.	R	64	Los Angeles	6355 Topanga Canyon Woodland Hills 91364	445-7676
Collier, John L. E.	R	54	Los Angeles	1109 Fair Oaks Ave., So. Pasadena 91030	445-7234
Conrad, Charles J.	R	57	Los Angeles	13440 Ventura Blvd., Sherman Oaks 91403	445-4383
Cory, Kenneth	D	69	Orange	8100 Garden Grove Blvd., Garden Grove 92641	445-7446
Crown, Robert W.	D	14	Alameda	1111 Jackson St., Oakland 94607	445-8160
Cullen, Mike	D	44	Los Angeles	444 W. Ocean Blvd., Long Beach 90802	445-7454
Davis, Pauline	D	1	Del Norte, Humboldt, Lassen, Modoc, Plumas, Shasta, Sierra, Siskiyou, Tehama, Trinity	P.O. Box 1071, Portola 96122	445-7266
Deddeh, Wadie P.	D	77	San Diego	240 Woodlawn Ave., Chula Vista 92010	445-7556
Dent, James W.	R	10	Contra Costa	2700 Concord Ave., Concord 94520	445-8528
Duffy, Gordon W.	R	21	Kings, Tulare	321 N. Douty, Hanford 93230	445-2931
Duntap, John F.	D	5	Napa, Solano	1221 Monterey St., Vallejo 94590	445-8498
Fenton, Jack R.	D	51	Los Angeles	1601 W. Beverly Blvd., Montebello 90640	445-8133
Fong, March K.	D	15	Alameda	10 Eastmont Mall, Oakland 94605	445-7632
Foran, John F.	D	23	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	445-8253
Garcia, Alex P.	D	40	Los Angeles	257 S. Spring St., Los Angeles 90012	445-7533
Gonsalves, Joe A.	D	66	Los Angeles	12340 E. Firestone Blvd., Norwalk 90650	445-7575
Greene, Bill	D	53	Los Angeles	203 E. Vernon Ave., Los Angeles 90037	445-7498
Greene, Leroy F.	D	3	Sacramento	3400 Cottage Way, Sacramento 95821	445-7807
Hayden, Richard	R	22	Santa Clara	525 W. Remington Dr., Sunnyvale 94087	445-8305
Hayes, James A.	R	39	Los Angeles	666 E. Ocean Blvd., Long Beach 90802	445-2778
Johnson, Harvey	D	58	Los Angeles	11001 E. Valley Blvd., El Monte 91732	445-7333
Johnson, Ray E.	R	4	Butte, Colusa, Glenn, Lake, Sutter, Yolo	352 Vallombrosa Ave., Chico 95926	445-8343

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ASSEMBLY (continued)

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Karabian, Walter J.	D	45	Los Angeles	231 W. Garvey, Monterey Park 91754	445-1670
Ketchum, William M.	R	29	Kern, San Luis Obispo, Tulare	P.O. Box 2345, Bakersfield 93301	445-7795
Keysor, James	D	41	Los Angeles	P.O. Box 508, San Fernando 91340	445-8430
Knox, John T.	D	11	Contra Costa	3803 MacDonald Ave., Richmond 94805	445-7890
Lacoste, Ernest	D	30	San Joaquin, Stanislaus	911 13th St., Modesto 95354	445-8570
Lanterman, Frank	R	47	Los Angeles	106A S. Los Robles, Pasadena 91101	445-8211
Lewis, Jerry	R	73	San Bernardino	3972 N. Waterman Ave., San Bernardino 92404	445-7552
MacDonald, Ken	D	37	Ventura	1903 E. Main St., Ventura 93001	445-7402
MacGillivray, W. Don	R	36	San Luis Obispo	Studio 117 El Paseo, Santa Barbara 93101	445-4843
Maddy, Ken	R	32	Fresno	1221 Van Ness, Fresno 93721	445-7558
McAlister, Alister	D	25	Santa Clara	1577B E. Santa Clara St. San Jose 95116	445-7874
McCarthy, Leo T.	D	19	San Francisco	350 McAllister St., San Francisco 94102	445-2106
Meade, Ken	D	16	Alameda	3333 Grand Ave., Oakland 95610	445-7554
Miller, John J.	D	17	Alameda	6565 Shattuck Ave., Oakland 94609	445-7442
Mobley, Ernest N.	R	33	Fresno, Madera	600 W. Shaw, Fresno 93704	445-8514
Monagian, Bob	R	12	San Joaquin	406 Bank of America Bldg., Stockton 95202	445-8494
Moorhead Carlos	R	43	Los Angeles	420 N. Brand Blvd., Glendale 91203	445-8364
Moretti, Bob	D	42	Los Angeles	12444 Victory Blvd., No. Hollywood 91606	445-8424
Murphy, Frank Jr.	R	31	Merced, San Benito, Santa Clara	P.O. Box 634, Santa Cruz 95060	445-8496
Pierson, David	D	65	Los Angeles	300 E. Queen St., Inglewood 90301	445-3134
Porter, Carley V.	D	38	Los Angeles	1717 N. Long Beach Blvd., Compton 90221	445-6047
Powers, Walter W.	D	8	Sacramento	P.O. Box 15265 Sacramento 95813	445-7464
Priolo Paul	R	60	Los Angeles	12121 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 90025	445-8366
Quimby, John P.	D	72	San Bernardino	227A S. Riverside Ave., Rialto 92376	445-7440
Ralph Leon	D	55	Los Angeles	1922 E. 103rd St., Los Angeles 90002	445-4011
Roberti, David A.	D	48	Los Angeles	2904 Rowena Ave., Los Angeles 90039	445-7587
Russell, Newton R.	R	62	Los Angeles	3507 W. Magnolia, Burbank 91505	445-8292
Ryan, Leo J.	D	27	San Mateo	308 Linden Ave., So. San Francisco 94080	445-8020
Schabarum, Peter F.	R	49	Los Angeles	573 S. Barranca, Covina 91722	445-9234
Seeley, Ray	R	75	Imperial, Riverside	247 E. Tahquitz-McCallum Way Palm Springs 92261	445-7931
Sieroty, Alan	D	59	Los Angeles	1144 S. Robertson, Los Angeles 90035	445-7928
Stacey, Kent H.	R	28	Kern	P.O. Box 2232, Bakersfield 93303	445-8490
Stull, John	R	80	San Diego	714 - 2nd St., Encinitas 92024	445-7444
Thomas, Vincent	D	68	Los Angeles	508 Pacific Trades Center San Pedro 90731	445-7906
Townsend, L. E.	D	67	Los Angeles	15225 S. Western Ave., Gardena 90249	445-7278
Vasconcellos, John	D	24	Santa Clara	100 W. Rincon Ave., Campbell 95008	445-4253
Wakefield Floyd L.	R	52	Los Angeles	7340 E. Florence Ave., Downey 90240	445-7852
Warren, Charles	D	56	Los Angeles	1411 W. Olympic Blvd., Los Angeles 90015	445-7644
Waxman, Henry A.	D	61	Los Angeles	5208 W. Pico Blvd., Los Angeles 90019	445-7511
Wilson, Pete	R	76	San Diego	233 A St., San Diego 92101	445-6161
Wood Bob	R	34	Monterey	32 E. Alisal, Salinas 93901	445-7486
Z'berg, Edwin L.	D	9	Sacramento	1501 W. Capitol Ave., West Sacramento 95691	445-8368

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Speaker pro Tempore Carlos Bee
Majority Floor Leader Walter Karabian
Minority Floor Leader Bob Monagan
Democratic Caucus Chairman Ken Cory
Majority Whip Leo McCarthy
Republican Caucus Chairman John Stull
Minority Whip Frank Murphy

SENATE LEADERSHIP
President pro Tempore James Mills
Majority Floor Leader George Moscone
Minority Floor Leader Fred Marler
Democratic Caucus Chairman
Mervyn Dymally
Republican Caucus Chairman
H. L. Richardson

SENATE STANDING COMMITTEES -- 1971

AGRICULTURE — (7)
Way (Chairman))
Zenovich (Vice Chairman)
Marler
Richardson
Coombs
Stiern
Vacancy

BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONS — (9)
Deukmejian (Chairman)
Whetmore (Vice Chairman)
Cologne
Dymally
Schrade
Short
Song
Marks
Beilenson

EDUCATION — (11)
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Harmer (Vice Chairman)
Dymally
Grunsky
Richardson
Marler
Moscone
Stiern
Carpenter
Alquist
Gregorio

ELECTIONS AND REAPPORTIONMENT — (9)
Dymally (Chairman)
Richardson (Vice Chairman)
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Nejedly
Carpenter
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Stiern
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Deukmejian
Schrade
Way
Mills
Grunsky

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Behr
Whetmore
Dills
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Vacancy

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Harmer
Stevens
Walsh
Zenovich
Short

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Holmdahl
Lagomarsino
Moscone
Stevens
Zenovich
Beilenson
Bradley
Cologne
Deukmejian

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Marks (Chairman)
Gregorio (Vice Chairman)
Nejedly
Behr
Bradley
Burgener
Coombs
Song
Petris

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Lagomarsino (Vice Chairman)
Richardson
Rodda
Dills
Carpenter
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Wedworth
Vacancy

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Behr (Vice Chairman)
Deukmejian
Walsh
Dills
Gregorio
Mills

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Holmdahl (Vice Chairman)
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Petris
Coombs
Deukmejian
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Wedworth
Cologne

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Lagomarsino
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Schrade (Vice Chairman)
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Way
Whetmore
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Marler
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Nejedly
Petris
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LaCoste (Vice Chairman)
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Duffy
Gonsalves
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Johnson, Ray
Ketchum
Mobley
Porter
Powers
Seeley
Stull
Wood

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Powers (Chairman)
Stacey (Vice Chairman)
Campbell
Conrad
Fong
Greene, Leroy
MacGillivray
Ryan
Townsend

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Cline (Vice Chairman)
Bagley
Beverly
Knox
McAlister
Pierson
Wakefield

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Beverly (Chairman)
Miller (Vice Chairman)
Brathwaite
Biddle
Crown
Moorhead
Murphy
Sieroty
Waxman

EDUCATION — (19)

Greene, Leroy (Chairman)
Chacon (Vice Chairman)
Arnett
Burke
Cline
Collier
Cory
Dent
Dunlap
Fong
Greene, Bill
Keysor
Lewis
Maddy
McAlister
Meade
Russell
Ryan
Vasconcellos

EFFICIENCY AND COST CONTROL — (6)

Cullen (Chairman)
Schabarum (Vice Chairman)
Cory
Mobley
Seeley
Thomas

ELECTIONS AND REAPPORTIONMENT — (15)

Waxman (Chairman)
Lewis (Vice Chairman)
Briggs
Brown
Cory
Crown
Fenton
Garcia
Karabian
Monagan
Moorhead
Moretti
Priolo
Ralph
Russell

EMPLOYMENT AND PUBLIC EMPLOYEES — (10)

Hayes (Chairman)
MacDonald (Vice Chairman)
Arnett
Biddle
Deddeh
Dent
Greene, Leroy
Ketchum
Meade
Z'berg

ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY — (9)

Fong (Chairman)
Wood (Vice Chairman)
Brown
Hayes
MacGillivray
Meade
Roberti
Wilson

FINANCE AND INSURANCE — (19)

Fenton (Chairman)
Pierson (Vice Chairman)
Beverly
Brathwaite
Briggs
Campbell
Deddeh
Foran
Hayden
Karabian
Knox
Lewis
Moorhead
Murphy
Powers
Priolo
Ralph
Townsend
Waxman

GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION — (9)

Russell (Chairman)
Arnett (Vice Chairman)
Chappie
Knox
LaCoste
Miller
Seeley
Stull
Wakefield

GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION — (15)

Ralph (Chairman)
Keysor (Vice Chairman)
Badham
Campbell
Cline
Conrad
Cullen
Duffy
Fenton
Greene, Leroy
Johnson, Ray
Karabian
MacDonald
Priolo
Townsend

HEALTH — (9)

Campbell (Chairman)
Vasconcellos (Vice Chairman)
Brathwaite
Davis
Duffy
Hayden
Pierson
Stacey
Waxman

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS — (11)

Johnson, Harvey (Chairman)
Conrad (Vice Chairman)
Bee
Chappie
Crown
Cullen
Duffy
Johnson, Ray
Monagan
Moretti
Thomas

JUDICIARY — (12)

Warren (Chairman)
McAlister (Vice Chairman)
Fenton
Foran
Hayes
Johnson, Harvey
Karabian
Maddy
Moorhead
Murphy
Wilson
Z'berg

LABOR RELATIONS — (9)

Roberti (Chairman)
Ketchum (Vice Chairman)
Biddle
Chacon
Garcia
Gonsalves
MacGillivray
McAlister
Wakefield

LOCAL GOVERNMENT — (10)

Knox (Chairman)
Chappie (Vice Chairman)
Beverly
Hayden
LaCoste
MacDonald
Porter
Quimby
Russell
Seeley

NATURAL RESOURCES AND CONSERVATION — (13)

Z'berg (Chairman)
Dent (Vice Chairman)
Barnes
Belotti
Chacon
Davis
Dunlap
Keysor
LaCoste
Sieroty
Thomas
Warren
Wood

PLANNING AND LAND USE — (7)

Priolo (Chairman)
McCarthy (Vice Chairman)
Brown
Chappie
Warren
Wilson
Z'berg

RETIREMENT — (8)

Barnes (Chairman)
Belotti (Vice Chairman)
Arnett
Bee
Conrad
Dent
Fong
Wakefield

REVENUE AND TAXATION — (17)

Gonsalves (Chairman)
Meade (Vice Chairman)
Badham
Bagley
Briggs
Cory
Deddeh
Dunlap
Greene, Bill
McCarthy
Mobley
Murphy
Quimby
Schabarum
Sieroty
Stull
Thomas

RULES — (7)

Burton (Chairman)
Johnson, R. (Vice Chairman)
Burke
Mobley
Quimby
Ryan
Townsend

TRANSPORTATION — (15)

Deddeh (Chairman)
Hayden (Vice Chairman)
Burke
Foran
Garcia
Gonsalves
Keysor
Lanterman
Lewis
MacGillivray
McCarthy
Roberti
Schabarum
Sieroty
Wood

URBAN DEVELOPMENT AND HOUSING — (9)

Brathwaite (Chairman)
Wilson (Vice Chairman)
Chacon
Cline
Greene, Bill
Maddy
Pierson
Ralph
Stacey

WATER — (9)

Porter (Chairman)
Quimby (Vice Chairman)
Badham
Cullen
Davis
Johnson, Harvey
Lanterman
Monagan
Stacey

WAYS AND MEANS — (21)

Brown (Chairman)
Lanterman (Vice Chairman)
Badham
Bagley
Barnes
Belotti
Burton
Collier
Crown
Davis
Dunlap
Foran
Hayes
MacDonald
Miller
Porter
Ryan
Schabarum
Stull
Vasconcellos
Warren

WELFARE — (9)

Bagley (Chairman)
Greene, Bill (Vice Chairman)
Biddle
Burton
Ketchum
Maddy
McCarthy
Miller
Roberti

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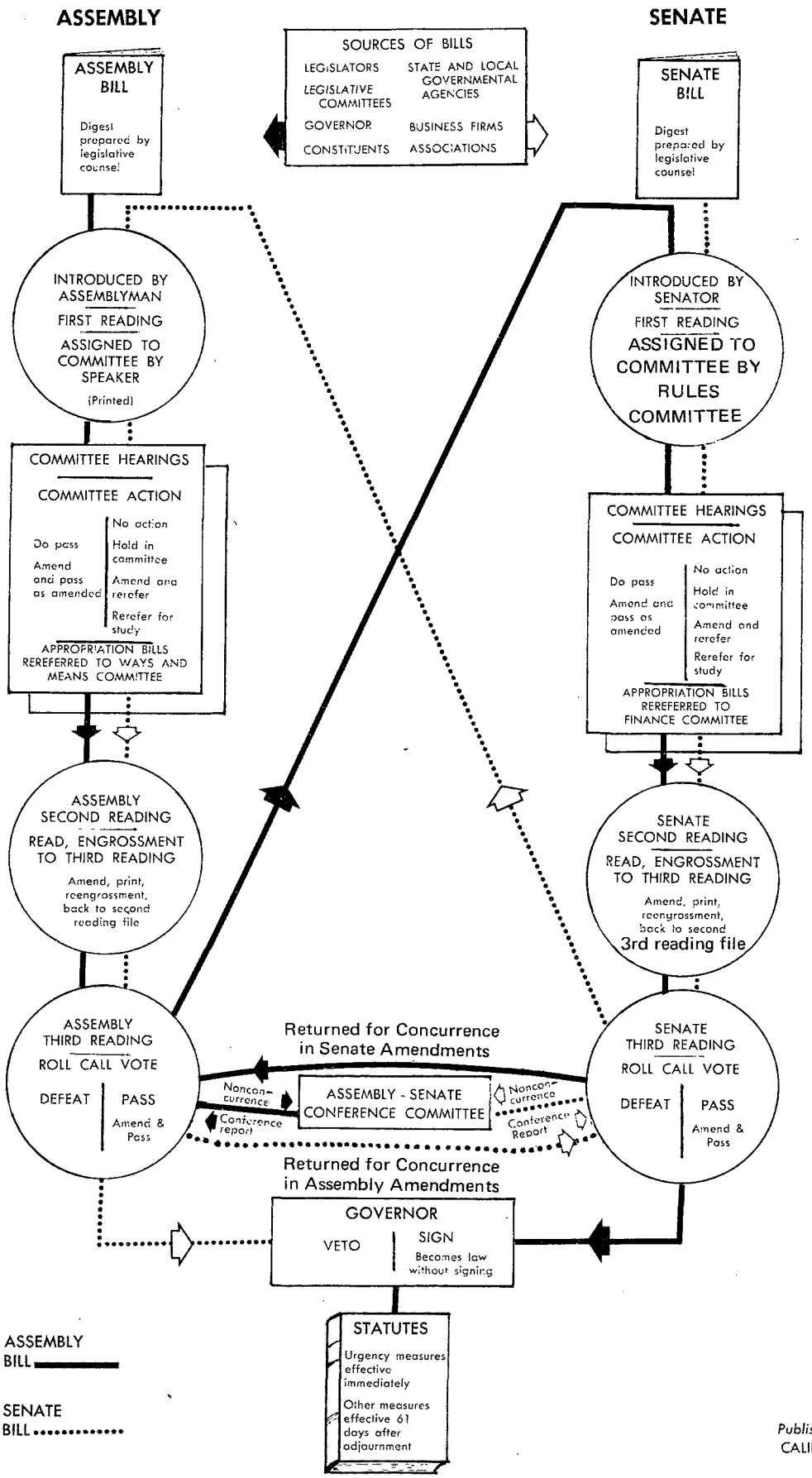

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Complete Text

Governor Ronald Reagan's State of the State Message

Following is the complete text of the State of the State message to a joint session of the California State Legislature by Governor Ronald Reagan, January 12, 1971.

We are all here as a result of the recent much discussed election. Many questions have been raised about campaign costs and how to curb them. May I suggest one step we could take that would not only reduce the high cost of campaigning but would certainly save a lot of wear and tear on candidates — and, I suspect, on the public, too? Move the primary from June to September and shorten the game by half.

Now that the Congress and the U.S. Supreme Court have given the 18-year olds the vote in federal elections, I certainly think we should take those steps necessary to let the citizens of California determine whether that shall be extended to state and local elections.

I am sure all of us hope this will be a year of real achievement for the people of California and it can be: 1971 can be the year we clear up some of the business we have been trying to get done for a long time past.

Speaker Bob Moretti was quoted the other day as saying that he believes the time for talk has passed and that "what will be necessary is to have the courage to take effective action" on our important problems. While I would not presume to speak for President pro Tem Mills and the Honorable members of this joint session, still I am sure the vast majority of us are here to engage in effective action.

It is in such a spirit of constructive cooperation that I offer some major goals which I believe are worthy of consideration and attainment. They relate to five of the basic areas of our state government, and are interrelated: education; enviroment; public safety; taxation and fiscal policies; and public assistance, both welfare and Medi-Cal.

Obviously in our limited time together today I can only touch on them briefly. But in the coming weeks, I will send you more detailed messages on each of these matters.

Education

In education, I look forward to working closely with Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles, to reform not only the methods used to finance our public schools, but also the way the schools are held accountable for quality and results. We must revamp the methods of raising and distributing funds and also eliminate counter-productive and wasteful procedures. For too long now, conscious of the growing gap between available revenues and program needs, we have tried to increase our support with no real knowledge on the part of any of us of how much money was actually needed. Before we blindly apportion more of the people's money, the time has come to see how much the school districts themselves can do to narrow the revenue gap through revision of business practices systems.

Various studies, made by the state and other agencies, clearly indicate serious managerial deficiencies in many school districts. The state can take an important part in providing guidance in upgrading management skills in education. It is our biggest single public investment and the public has the right to expect the highest cost-benefit return on the taxpayer's dollar. In addition, California annually receives nearly one quarter of a billion dollars for education by way of the federal government and a process must be established to insure that these federal funds are correctly spent to achieve our long-range state and local goals.

Our Special Task Force on School Finance has pointed out what many of you already know: that the various formulas for school subventions have outlived their usefulness to school districts and must be simplified. Coupled with this there must be a comprehensive property tax reform to free the education system from such heavy reliance on what is a restrictive and outmodel source of revenue.

Over the past 18 months the Governor's Commission on Educational Reform which some of you have assisted has been studying the program changes necessary to restore some meaning to the elementary and secondary school programs. I can tell you of their dismay — over the functional illiteracy evidenced by so many of our high school graduates; far too many of these young men and women have failed to acquire the ability to read, to write, to compute and to communicate. It is not enough to say *they* have failed; it is more pertinent to ask, "has the *system* failed?" and if so how can it be corrected?

Teacher Tenure

The original and legitimate reasons for tenure no longer exist. Tenure has become a haven for the incompetent teacher. It should be altered to include a system of merit pay which provides real incentives for quality teaching. This should not be precipitous; a judicious, sensible phase-out would be a real service to all concerned — the student, the public and the teaching profession.

There is always need for innovation in any system; education must be no exception. There are those who see the "voucher plan" as the answer to making schools more responsive. There are others who see it as a threat of unutterable evil. No one on either side seems to have facts upon which to base his often emotional stand. Why shouldn't we undertake some pilot tests in selected districts and thus introduce some facts into the debate?

Past generations of Californians — both lay citizens and members of the academic community — have given us a heritage of quality education. That the foundations were firmly laid is indicated by the fact that, though the campuses have undergone six years of turmoil, the University still maintains very high stature in graduate Letters and Science education among the academic institutions of the nation; we have one of the finest state college systems in the United States; and our community college system has no equal.

But during these six years on our campuses, there were those who did stray from the highest academic traditions . . . using the classroom for the advancement of personal bias rather than to excite the curiosity of

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But when a county welfare director has to fight in court to get information from his own employees, we have gone from the benign to the ridiculous.

the student. The basic issue was whether the classroom was to stimulate curiosity and to provide information for the student so that he could make intelligent decisions or whether it was to insist that the student accept those conclusions that represented the instructor's personal beliefs and attitudes.

Today we find a new and welcome readiness on the part of many faculty members, students, and administrators to reaffirm high professional standards and ethics and to recognize responsibilities to the society which founded and has maintained our University and colleges.

We face some unresolved problems in higher education. For one thing, with the University charging tunition an imbalance exists so long as the state colleges do not. The Trustees have asked for permission to institute tuition and should be allowed to do so.

The quality of higher educational opportunities can be improved. Our undergraduates in the universities deserve, as University of California President Charles Hitch has said, a larger proportion of faculty time and a greater investment of faculty interest.

Non-resident fees for out-of-state and foreign students should be reviewed. It is hard to justify subsidizing these students when it grows increasingly difficult to provide an education for our own residents. This would also apply to "perpetual students" who for no apparently valid reason become permanent campus fixtures.

Technical Education

We should encourage those who seek a college education, and do our best to provide the opportunities and the facilities. But we must not neglect those who do not want a college degree. Almost half of our California young people do not go to college and fewer finish. They would prefer to move directly from high school into some of the technical jobs in our highly technological society. For them we must make sure that a technical education is an open road, not a deadend street. We should move to lift technical education to its proper status and help it fulfill its tremendously important role.

It would be well to review and update the Master Plan for Higher Education which was written more than ten years ago.

Environment

In the area of environment and ecology, it is and must be our continuing goal to refurbish and reclaim what has been debauched and to protect that which is still clean and fresh and open — and to do this in a sensible, responsible and balanced manner.

To attain these goals, I intend to deliver to you a message on environment which will propose a high level environmental protection body and will also outline some further steps to improve the quality of our air and our water.

Californians account for slighlty more than 20 pounds of solid waste per person per day. In an uncompacted condition, one year's accumulation of paper, bottles, cans, trash of all sorts could build a wall 100 feet wide and 30 high from Oregon to Mexico. I am not suggesting we do that.

I am suggesting one state agency should be given the authority to coordinate, encourage and assist local and regional entities to plan for and regulate solid waste disposal systems and sites. This would enable us to work closely with the federal government through the recently enacted National Resources Recovery Act.

The desire for subsidized mass urban transit is seen most clearly and can be measured most responsibly at the local level. I continue to support an approach which protects local autonomy and provides a source of local revenue while insuring that the state highway system continue to receive its full share of gas tax revenues.

The preservation and protection of California's coastal resources must surely rank among our highest environmental priorities. We cannot abide a piece-meal destruction of our magnificent coast.

The State Subdivision Map Act should be amended to require that the design of recreational subdivisions include strong environmental as well as engineering considerations.

Judicial System

Our goal in the area of public safety should be to guarantee every citizen the right to be secure in his person and property and the right to an efficient, speedy and just court system.

Anyone who has had any business in any of our courts knows that our courts are overcrowded and the administration of the system is bogging down.

I have asked Chief Justice Donald Wright, Attorney General Evelle Younger, and the Judicial Council to work with us to resolve this crisis before public confidence is completely lost.

With regard to public safety, you have passed in the last two sessions anti-crime bills which have done much to aid local law enforcement. I would like to suggest three more:

- the killing of a law enforcement officer while on duty should be first degree murder;
- the amount of reward money the governor can offer for information leading to the arrest and conviction of persons killing or injuring police officers should be increased above the existing $1,000 maximum; and
- it should be a felony to specifically advocate killing or injuring law enforcement officers.

Let me thank you for enacting last year the most comprehensive program in the nation for intra-state control of restricted drugs. But we must continue our efforts to communicate with our young people, and rehabilitate the victims. I am convinced the answer is not just shutting off the supply. We won't win *this* war until we find a way to convince our young people they just don't want to go down that road.

Fiscal Policy

All of the things I have mentioned so far are totally depedent on finding the solution to one problem. We must put our fiscal house in order. There has been much speculation about the inevitability of a tax increase. A tax increase is inevitable only if we refuse to accept readily available alternatives.

As I stated a week ago, our revenues are sub-

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stantially below the estimates upon which this year's budget was planned. And expenditures for Medi-Cal and welfare are substantially higher than we had anticipated.

The first problem is the result of the economic slump which is nationwide. Since this is only a temporary dislocation, I see no reason why government should not meet it with a temporary solution. If government curbs its normal appetite and curtails some less than vital activities; who knows — we might discover some of those activities are so "less than vital," they won't even be missed. Let us not be like the waiter who asked the boss for a raise because he was breaking more dishes than his paycheck could cover. I think we would find it difficult to explain to people who are doing some personal budget cutting themselves right now why we had to raise taxes to cover what we all know is a temporary shortage.

Public Assistance

The second part of the problem, of course, is not temporary but it can be if we are willing to make it so. The escalating increase in the cost of Medi-Cal and welfare is due to basic flaws in the framework of these programs.

Californians make up ten percent of the nation's population but have 16 percent of all who are on welfare. Five point seven percent of Americans receive welfare. In California, it is 9.4 percent. The state and local costs pro-rate out at $57.55 for every man, woman, child and baby in the state — more than double the national average.

Together we can make reforms which will not only lighten this burgen but make it possible for us to do more for the truly poor who have no one to turn to but us. We have this as an alternative to increasing taxes.

The public's general antagonism toward welfare does not stem from any lack of willingness to help the needy. The figures I have just cited make that plain. The public can see very well that complex and confusing regulations make welfare virtually unmanageable. We can all sympathize with regulations insuring confidentiality of the case histories of welfare recipients.

But when a county welfare director has to fight in court to get information from his own employees, we have gone from the benign to the ridiculous.

Welfare Recipients

Another regulation inhibits challenging an applicant's eligibility. The same government that requires a tax paying citizen to document every statement on his tax return decrees that questioning a welfare applicant demeans and humiliates him.

I am sure that welfare recipients are generally as honest as other citizens but like the rest of us they should not object to routine procedures to protect against those who might cheat. And it is possible to cheat on welfare. Just recently the press told of some indignant citizens in the Bay Area who proved this to their county supervisors. They were all employed and had no economic problems. But they travelled the circuit of welfare offices applying for and getting on welfare, usually without even furnishing identification. One managed to get on welfare four times under four different names in one day — at the same office.

Foreign nationals in uncounted numbers are on California welfare. California recipients leave the state

In the area of environment and ecology, it is and must be our continuing goal to refurbish and reclaim what has been debauched and to protect that which is still clean and fresh and open — and to do this in a sensible, responsible and balanced manner.

and even the country and continue to receive their checks and there is no way to know whether they have applied for welfare in their new location. Nor can we prove the beneficiaries of the Supreme Court decision who come here from other states and get instant welfare are not also continuing to receive checks from their former homes. One woman eligible for welfare by reason of pregnancy was still eligible even though her pregnancy had reached fifteen months.

Then there are incentives to encourage recipients to take jobs. Again, no quarrel with the goal but when does incentive become unnecessary windfall? The incentives are so open-ended there is virtually no limit to the earnings an individual can make and still retain welfare eligibility. Take for example a woman on aid to dependent children receiving a $221 grant who gets a $600 a month job. The federal formula begins to operate. Thirty dollars of the $600 does not have to be counted nor does one-third of the balance, or any deductions for taxes, retirement, union dues, child care costs, special clothing, transportation (and this includes payments on a car) and $25 for miscellaneous. It is entirely possible to reduce the $600 down to zero and continue drawing the $221. According to the press at least one individual earning $16,800 a year continues to legally draw welfare. How do we close the gap between need and income for the totally destitute.

Our goal must be to reform and restructure the entire welfare system.

The Employable

While we assist the truly needy who have nowhere else to turn, we must also insist that able-bodied adult recipients work and meet their own responsibilities. And in all of this we must aim to strengthen family repsonsibility as the basic element in society.

One of our first steps will be a clear administrative and operational distinction between the employable and the unemployable. This will take a costly administrative burden off the backs of the counties. The aged and disabled are in truth pensioners — they should receive their checks through an automated process similar to Social Security.

This would leave us with the potentially employable who for whatever reason do not have a marketable job skill. They should be transferred to the jurisdiction of the Department of Human Resources Development. There under a coordinated operation of Human Resources Development's programs, the Department of Rehabilitation and the private sector they would participate in an expanded job-training, job development and job placement operation.

Now let it clearly understood, we do not propose this in the vengeful spirit of "make them do something for their money." The vast number of them would far rather work at something useful.

F.D.R. in the dark depths of the depression in 1935 warned: "The lessons of history show conclusively that continued dependence upon relief induces a spiritual and moral disintegration fundamentally destruc-

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tive to the national fibre. To dole out relief is to administer a narcotic, a subtle destroyer of the human spirit."

This quote would also apply to work for the sake of working — digging holes and filling them up. This is not what we have in mind. We intend to catalogue all those things in the public area which are not now being done and which would possibly never be done because of lack of funds and manpower. This would include local, county and state governments. These public jobs would not displace present employees or interfere with existing patterns of employment and certainly not become a way of getting cheap labor. I think organized labor should be involved in finding these tasks.

Each agency and department of state government has already been told to examine its operations and to list those things not now being done, but which could be done by able bodied recipients. The field of environment alone should open new opportunities. I have to believe that you can see what a great step forward it would be to have thousands of our citizens receiving a paycheck instead of a handout, with at the same time the self pride of knowing they are helping to make California a better place. In other words, the billions now being spent on a dole would be financing improvements for our state and underwriting a public work force.

These revisions in welfare operations will call for a shift of emphasis, personnel and funds which will be detailed in a future mesage to you.

Eligibility Standards

We must establish realistic eligibility standards so that only the needy can qualify for assistance. Without such reasonable restraints there can be no equitable distribtuion of welfare funds or fiscal accountability.

A revision of the welfare statutes is necessary to put a ceiling on the amount of earnings an individaul can have and still remain on the welfare rolls.

Nearly 80 percent of our welfare families involve an absent father. Separation of husband and wife, divorce or dispute, does not absolve the father from his moral and legal responsibilities to care for his children if he can. (There are, today, too many instances where the taxpayer is forced to subsidize some father's yen to travel.) We will propose incentives and procedures to help the counties locate absent fathers and enforce parental responsibilities.

As for the hampering confidentiality statutes, the public has a right to know what it is paying for — where and how its dollar is being spent; welfare can be no exception. The use of public funds demands public information. The cloak of secrecy must be removed.

If these reforms are to work, the counties must follow through at their level. If they submit to pressure and protests and pick up what the state has eliminated or curtailed, they simply shift the costs from one level of government to another and the whole idea of reform is defeated. As a matter of fact, all levels of government — federal, state and local — must work together on this effort, changing attitudes, laws and regulations where necessary to permit a restructuring of the entire welfare program.

Equally drastic reform is demanded in Medi-Cal. In its first year of operation, Medi-Cal began exceeding estimated costs when only a third of those eligible had discovered its magic basket of goodies. Five years ago one out of 15 Californians was on Medi-Cal — today one out of 9 is enjoying with few inhibitions on use, a program of unlimited coverage providing two to three times the services of health programs the working man can afford for himself and his family.

In 1968, this legislature passed a law which was very explicit in the steps it mandated if and when there was a threatened Medi-Cal deficit. The first step required by that law is to reduce the payments to providers of health care services by ten percent. That step has been taken. The second step under the law is to postpone, not eliminate, but postpone certain nonessential elective services. This has been done and with no disruption or jeopardy to essential health services.

For several weeks now, as we have compiled with the law, a number of people have been confused and have credited me with thinking up these steps in my own head. Honesty and simple fairness compel me to let you share in the glory.

Hastily enacted under a federal whip, five years of operation have made it plain that Medi-Cal cannot meet California's needs. During this session we will present for your consideration a plan to limit our health care services to the poor so they will be comparable with the health benefits provided by the various prepaid health insurance plans covering most of our citizens.

One of our goals will be to place some responsibility on each user of the plan. This should include a system of co-payment or deductibles with provision, of course, for emergency or catastrophic illness. This and other reforms we feel must be made in Medi-Cal will come to you in a subsequent report. You and I will have to work together and we must seek suport in Washington for changes in attitude regulations and statutes.

Six weeks ago we announced the first of a series of cutbacks and freezes to bring expenditures into line with our reduced revenues. Those steps plus some less spectacular measures which will be announced in the budget message will come very close to correcting this year's deficit.

There will be a cash flow problem which will be covered by internal borrowing. California will face recurring problems which would not exist if withholding had been enacted last year. I hope that together we can enact tax reform that will finally alleviate the unjust burden borne by the propetry owner. Some have proposed changing the Constitution so that taxes on banks and corporations can be raised by simple majority. I called attention to the same inequity in last year's proposed tax reform but suggested a different solution; that we leave the bank and corporation tax as is and that all tax increases require a two-thirds vote. Our people might gratified if we made it harder — not easier to increase all taxes.

1971-72 Budget

Dire predictions have been made about the 1971-72 budget. Those who predict a gigantic deficit have apparently assumed that we would accept "business as usual" and send the bill to the taxpayer. That assumption is out of character with the economic policies we

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have advocated these past four years. We have made every effort to make California's government the most economical and efficient in the nation and we have had the help of many of you. I ask for that continued help and offer mine to you. For example, an Assemblyman not of my party has, in the last few days, approached us with an idea for auditing the priorities and programs of all the departments of state government. It is a much needed and creative idea. He can count on my enthusiastic support.

You and I have run out of time. We are at the point where this state can no longer sustain its operations on the revenue it now takes from the people. Therefore, we are confronted by a choice. We can reform government — reduce the cost of services, particularly in welfare and Medi-Cal, or we can increase taxes. To choose the latter without excising the cancer eating at our vitals is to face tax increases year in and year out for as long as we shall be here. I intend to travel another course.

I will submit a budget which can be balanced without an increase in taxes. In this year of unusual circumstances admittedly there will be items deferred, other areas in which we would like to spend more and projects will be curtailed which will bring cries of anguish from some. But their anguish is no more than the day-in and day-out anguish of our citizens.

No one of us can any longer enjoy the luxury of going it alone. We must work together, Democrats and Republicans, legislators and executives. The people have made it evident they want a bi-partisan cooperative management of this state. If we refuse them this and fail it will not really matter which one of us brought disaster. If we succeed, it will not matter much who gets the credit. In fact, success can only come from a joint effort. Failure is inevitable without it. The people have made it clear that we in government will do this or they will terminate our right to govern.

The choice is ours — the people of California are waiting for our decision.

VOTING RECORDS

Listed below are the votes of Senators and Assemblymen on the major roll calls in the Legislature this month and a brief summary of the issues under consideration. Votes selected for inclusion are on issues of major importance to Californians as a whole or issues on which there is a major division of opinion, or both.

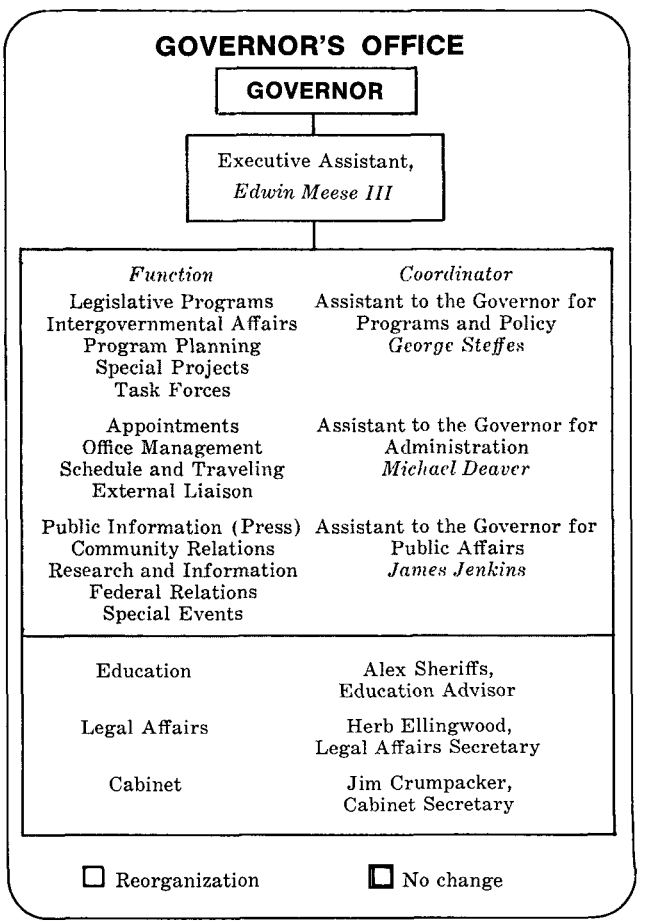
In the Senate in January, James Mills was elected President pro Tempore 40-0, and Senators Kennick, Teale, Stevens, and Lagormarsino were elected to the Rules Committee by 40-0.

In the Assembly, Bob Moretti was elected Speaker by a 75-0 margin with the following not voting: Republicans — Biddle, Burke, Stull, and Wakefield; Democrats — Moretti. Assemblymen Quimby, Ryan, Townsend, R. Johnson, Mobley, and Burke were elected to the Rules Committee by a 69-0 vote.

Governor's Staff Reorganized As Second Term Begins

On January 20th, the Governor announced an internal reorganization of his executive staff. The first major reorganization of the Governor's Office since 1968, it is significant for two reasons. First, outside of a handful of elected officials, the personal staff of the Governor — those men who advise him on key public policy questions and political matters — could be considered the most influential group of men in California government. Second, this particular plan will probably set the tone and structure for future reorganization in executive branch agencies.

Edwin Meese III, the Governor's present Executive Secretary, will continue to be responsible for the overall direction and supervision of the Governor's Office. He will, however, have the new title of Executive Assistant to the Governor. To assist Meese, there will be three men with the title of Assistant to the Governor: Michael Deaver, presently assistant executive secretary; George Steffes, the Governor's legislative secretary; and James Jenkins, director of the Washington, D.C. office for the State of California. Each of these men will coordinate specific functions (see chart below) and, according to Meese, will have basic responsibility for making the Governor's Office more responsive to the chief executive's needs and those of his administration, the public, and the Legislature.



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Conservatives Outnumber Liberals, Middle-roaders

By Mervin D. Field

If you choose a group of representative Californians at random today and ask them to characterize their political stance, about 40 percent of them will answer "conservative." About 25 percent of the people you question will say they see themselves as "middle-of-the-road"; another 25 percent will call themselves "liberal", and 10 percent will be undecided or have no opinion.

To learn this, California Poll asked a representative cross-section of California's adult public this question:

"Politically speaking, do you consider yourself more as a conservative or more as a liberal?"

These words can stand for different things to different people, of course, and they are usually thought to be too vague to be of much use in describing people's politics. However, the California Poll's voter studies find that there are actually certain definite patterns of belief or ideology that separate self-styled "conservatives" from those who label themselves "middle-of-the-roaders" and those who are "liberals". In other words, the terms really do appear to denote fairly clear-cut ideologies after all.

The popularity of these terms has fluctuated some over the nine years that the California Poll has been charting them. The appelation "conservative" reached its lowest ebb in the 1963-66 period, and returned to its present level following 1966. However, use of the term "liberal" as a self-description has remained fairly steady, dipping somewhat during 1966, peaking during 1968, and then returning to its normal level of about 25 percent.

Percent of Adult Population Who Characterize Themselves As —

	Conservative	Middle-road	Liberal	Don't know	
1962	41%	23%	27%	9%	100%
1966	33	35	20	12	100%
1970	40	26	24	10	100%

Republican Conservatives

Not surprisingly, there is a wide difference between Republicans and Democrats in the popularity of the terms "conservative" and "liberal". Among California Republicans, 55 percent or more have adopted the conservative label, except in the 1963-67 period, when the percentage fell to between 40 and 50 percent. These were the years of the Johnson consensus, and the drop in the number of Republican conservatives suggests that the Goldwater movement in 1964 actually drove many otherwise conservatively inclined Republicans into middle-of-the-road positions in an effort to justify their unwillingness to vote for the Arizona conservative.

The Republican liberal movement has never mustered more than 18 percent of the party's members behind its banner in California, and fell as low as 10 percent during Ronald Reagan's first campaign for governor in 1966.

Percent of Republicans Who Characterize Themselves As —

	Conservative	Middle-road	Liberal	Don't know	
1962	60%	19%	14%	7%	100%
1966	46	34	10	10	100%
1970	56	24	15	5	100%

Democratic Party Divided

Democrats in California show a much less clear-cut consensus as to which side of the road they favor. Liberalism has been the self-description of the largest number of Democrats, but has never included more than 35 percent of them, and more typically only applies to a little over 30 percent. The Democratic liberals' high point was reached during the 1968 presidential campaign when Hubert Humphrey was running against Richard Nixon.

Middle-road sentiment among Democrats normally runs somewhat below 30 percent, but rose considerably in 1966 when Ronald Reagan first ran for Governor. Like Republicans who took refuge in the middle to justify voting against Goldwater, so, apparently, many Democrats also did the same thing in 1966 to justify voting against former Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown. That year, the Democratic middle-road percentage rose to 35 percent, an increase of almost ten percentage points above normal.

Percent of Democrats Who Characterize Themselves As —

	Conservative	Middle-road	Liberal	Don't know	
1962	29%	25%	35%	11%	100%
1966	25	35	28	12	100%
1970	32	27	30	11	100%

Several significant things stand out in both party's figures. First, the terms "conservative" and "liberal" apparently do have some enduring meaning, since the percentage of people adopting them remains quite stable over time. However, there is also an ebb and flow of popularity for the terms which seems to depend on how strongly campaign issues and candidates are cast in terms of conservative-liberal political ideology.

The important additional finding in this report is that there are distinct and identifiable differences between the two groups in attitudes toward a number of social and political issues, and in their style of responding to social change. The terms conservative and liberal have been assumed by some political analysts to have real meaning only for the most highly educated levels of the population. These findings of the California Poll suggest, on the contrary, that these words have meaning for a broad spectrum of the public in California.

Individuals' different styles of reacting to pressures for social change are clearly visible in the words they choose to describe why they have adopted one or the other label for themselves. For example, when

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conservatives are asked to say in their own words what they mean by the term, they most often describe themselves as favoring gradual change and as opposing radical innovation. They often also express a desire to "keep established institutions," and they disapprove of "radical, far-out ideas."

Other self-designated conservatives describe their position as being based on issues — they say they believe in strictures against government spending, against excessive welfare, or against foreign aid. Belief in stricter law enforcement and patriotism are also sometimes mentioned as articles of faith by conservatives.

What conservatives say they mean by the term:

Disapproval of radical, far-out ideas	20%
Keep established institutions, status quo	18
Less government spending	15
Make decisions thoughtfully, carefully	14
Gradual change, no radical innovations	13
Against giveaways, excessive welfare	12
Stricter law enforcement, law and order	9
Patriotism, love of country	8
Decentralization, less government control	6
Against foreign aid	4

(No other items mentioned by more than 2%. Total of mentions exceeds 100% because some people named more than one meaning.)

How Liberals Describe Themselves

Self-designated political liberals are likely to think of themselves as being "willing to change and experiment to meet modern demands," and as "keeping an open mind". They also see themselves as having humanitarian values and an understanding, compassionate outlook.

Some liberals use this term primarily to indicate that they are "independent thinkers who don't follow party lines."

What liberals say they mean by the term:

Willing to change, experiment to meet modern demands	33%
Humanitarian interest in people more than monetary values	24
Independent thinker, don't follow party lines	15
Keep an open mind, not rigid or set in ways	14
Progressive, accept new ideas, enlightened	13
Make decisions thoughtfully, evaluate	12
Advocate equal rights for everyone	11
Understanding, compassionate concern	3

(No other items mentioned by more than 2%. Total of mentions exceeds 100% because some people named more than one meaning.)

Middle-Roaders

"Middle-roaders" describe themselves primarily as moderates who often vote for the man not the party and who place great value on evaluating both sides of issues. These people make up about 25-30 percent of each party's membership.

It seems clear from the above comments that when questioned about the meaning of the terms, most people think of it as representing a basic frame of mind, or style of approach to problems. While this is an important part of the meaning, it is only a very general part. Deeper insights can be gained by looking at how these basic attitudes are applied to some of the major issues of the day.

CALIFORNIA CALENDAR

Meetings of the following state boards and commissions are listed each month; if one of these boards is not listed, it can be assumed that it is not scheduled to meet this month. Boards and commissions to be included are: Board of Corrections; Trustees of the California State Colleges; California Community Colleges Board of Governors; Coordinating Council for Higher Education; Board of Education; Highway Commission; Little Hoover Commission; Commission on Housing and Community Development; Lands Commission; Park and Recreation Commission; Personnel Board; University of California Board of Regents; and Social Welfare Board.

Feb. 5	**Board of Corrections.** Rm. 200, State Office Bldg. 1, 915 Capitol Mall, Sacramento. 9:00 a.m.
Feb. 11	**Little Hoover Commission.** Santa Rosa War Memorial Bldg., 1351 Maple Avenue, Santa Rosa. 9:30 a.m.
Feb. 11-12	**Board of Education.** Rm. 1138, 107 South Broadway, Los Angeles. 9:00 a.m. **Park and Recreation Commission.** Board of Supervisors Chambers, Oroville, 9:00 a.m.
Feb. 12-13	**California Law Revision Commission.** State Bar Bldg., 1230 W. Third St., Los Angeles. 2/12—9:30 a.m.; 2/13—9:00 a.m.
Feb. 17-18	**California Community Colleges Board of Governors.** Host of Sacramento Inn, Sacramento Metropolitan Airport. 9:00 a.m. **Personnel Board.** Rm. 113, 107 South Broadway, Los Angeles. 9:00 a.m.
Feb. 18-19	**California Highway Commission.** City Hall, Pasadena. 10:00 a.m. **University of California Board of Regents.** University Extension Center, Los Angeles.
Feb. 23	**Little Hoover Commission.** Council Chambers, City Hall, Red Bluff. 9:30 a.m.
Feb. 25	**State Lands Commission.** Rm. 2170, State Capitol, Sacramento. 10:00 a.m.
Feb. 25-26	**Social Welfare Board.** Hilton Inn, San Francisco International Airport. 2/25—7:30 p.m. 2/26—9:00 a.m.
Mar. 2	**Coordinating Council for Higher Education.** Camellia Room, Sacramento Metropolitan Airport. 9:00 a.m.
Mar. 3-4	**Personnel Board.** 801 Capitol Mall, Sacramento. 9:00 a.m.

The following boards and commissions follow a standard monthly schedule and thus are not included in the Calendar: Board of Agriculture, first Thursday of each month; Allocation Board, second Tuesday; San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission, first and third Thursdays; Merit Award Board, second Wednesday; Public Works Board, last Monday; Reclamation Board, second and fourth Fridays; Soil Conservation Commission, fourth Tuesday; Transportation Board, first Thursday; California Water Commission, first Friday; and Water Resources Control Board, first and third Thursdays. Please contact the agency for meeting time and place.

The November election of John V. Tunney, seems to have broken a very long record. California has not sent two Democrats to the U.S. Senate at the same time since February, 1863, following the election of John Conness of Sacramento. He joined Senator James A. McDougall of San Francisco who had been elected in March, 1861.

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Late Campaign Spending Reports

Late filings and revised campaign expenditure reports have raised the total reported spending for the 1970 state and congressional elections by $628,896 to a total of $26.5 million. This total is still incomplete, however, as some candidates have not yet filed and probably never will.

As is customary, the winners in most races were more conscientious about filing a report than the losers. However, 50% of the congressional candidates and 59% of the Assembly candidates who filed late were winners. All candidates who ran in statewide elections submitted their expenditure reports before the December 8th deadline, as did the majority of congressional candidates.

HIGH-COST LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGNS NOT PREVIOUSLY REPORTED IN THE JOURNAL

	Congress		
MAILLARD (R)	$ 68,845	**HANNA (D)**	$ 87,487
Miller (D)	98,208	Teague (R)	168,413
	$167,053		$255,900
Dellums (D)	$137,262	Tunno (D)	$ 98,375
Healy (R)	46,965	**Veysey (R)**	146,884
	$184,227		$245,259
GUBSER (R)	$ 32,226		
McLean (D))	49,372		**Assembly**
	$ 81,598	HOM (R)	$ 11,497
TEAGUE (R)	$ 59,623	**Chacon (D)**	63,411
Hart (D)	54,483		$ 74,908
	$114,106	**MacDONALD (D)**	$ 43,587
CORMAN (D)	$ 47,822	Siple (R)	58,344
Hayden (R)	97,348		$101,931
	$145,170		

According to the Secretary of State's rules, a winner can not be given a certificate of election until the expenditure statement for his campaign has been approved. In theory, he is unable to take his elected seat without the certificate, but it is not unusual for an elected official to ignore this requirement.

HIGH-COST ASSEMBLY CAMPAIGNS REVISED FIGURES

MULFORD (R)	$120,478	**MacGILLIVRAY (R)**	$ 56,554
Meade (D)	77,361	Palmer (D)	58,066
	$197,839		114,620
ARKLIN (R)	$ 93,572	**CORY (D)**	$ 94,013
Keysor (D)	79,627	Nestande (R)	75,603
	$173,199		$169,616
BERRYHILL (R)	$ 69,639	CRANDALL (R)	$ 63,559
LaCoste (D)	53,798	**McAlister (D)**	40,239
	$124,437		$103,798
KARABIAN (D)	$ 82,449		
Decker (R)	49,515		
	$131,964		

Some losers have not filed at all. Not surprisingly, the greatest percentage of non-filers belong to the Peace and Freedom and the American Independent Parties. Unless they intend to run again, the Secretary of State has no means of enforcing the expenditure report requirement. If they decide to run in a future election, however, they will be required to submit their missing financial statements before becoming prospective candidates.

The lackadaisical manner in which winners and losers alike treat the deadline for their expenditure reports might not be so readily tolerated if it weren't all but impossible to accurately interpret the financial statements that are submitted. Each report has its own idiosyncracies. An employee in the Secretary of State's office who has compiled these statements for many years says that while experience helps, "it depends on the discretion and luck of the interpreter . . . the figures differ with each person's interpretation."

There are more than a few possible pitfalls. When a candidate and his campaign committee list their expenditures, the two statements often overlap, with the committee listing monies for which the candidate has already accounted. If the candidate has more than one committee, each committee will report separately, and there will be no report of total expenditures for the campaign. In addition, funds are often transferred between committees or between the committee and the candidate. Occasionally committee names are changed when they are listed with their expenditures.

For major campaigns the expenditure report may become so lengthy and obscure that the campaign expenditure total can be an educated guess at best. This is especially true when expenditures for the primary are entered on the general election expenditure form with committee names slightly altered and the amounts changed.

RETIREMENT *(Continued from page 11)*

be augmented by regular cost-of-living increases, expected to be at least six percent this year.

A member who belongs to the system (or buys in later) must pay into the fund four percent of his salary each year in office, but this does not begin to meet the current state cost for benefits. The total contribution of legislators to their fund is extremely low when compared to other civil employee contributions. To illustrate, total benefit payments last year for the entire Legislative Retirement System cost the state almost $600,000. Legislators' contributions into the system offset less than 10 percent of that figure. In comparison, regular state employees' contributions amount to nearly 30 percent of the state's civil service pension expenditures.

There have been some attempts to tone down the benefits of the legislators' system. With the help of current President pro Tem of the Senate James Mills, a reform measure, eliminating the early retirement option for members affected by reapportionment, won approval of both houses in 1969. But a "grandfather" clause in the amended version that became law restricts its application to those first elected to legislative office after December 31st, 1969.

Fully 81 legislators will have a retirement option in 1972 if only the slightest alteration is made in their district boundaries. The 81, if they were to exercise that option, could claim a total of $6,601,302 in bonus pension benefits before they reach the normal retirement age of 60. This sum exceeds by more than $2 million the total retirement benefits expended by the Legislators' Retirement System in the previous 23 years of its existence.

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Tomato Growers Reject Supply Controls

In the waning days of the last Congress, the federal farm program was extended for an additional three years, with a limit of $55,000 on the annual subsidy payments that any one farm can receive. The payment limitation was symptomatic of a growing public disenchantment with traditional federal farm marketing policy. Briefly, federal basic commodity programs support prices to cooperating farmers based on some versions of the historic notion of "parity" and control production by a combination of acreage limitations and non-production or land retirement payments. While a few giant California farms have gained extensive publicity for receiving payments in excess of one million dollars under the previous program, the payment limitation will affect only a relatively small segment of California's farm economy and will be of commercial significance only in cotton and possibly rice.

Almost simultaneously with the passage of the new federal farm bill, California tomato producers narrowly voted down a far-reaching proposal to establish a supply management marketing order under the California Marketing Act of 1937. Although the defeat of the proposed tomato order received little attention outside of agricultural circles, its approval could well have been an event of greater significance for California farmers than the widely publicized federal payment limitations.

The California Marketing Act (CMA) is, in effect, the state's farm program. Almost all of California's 250-plus farm commodities are eligible to develop "self help" programs under the law, which authorizes neither price supports nor the use of general tax revenues, but instead gives producers an opportunity to exercise some control over their markets. Orders are of particular significance in the marketing of the many specialty crops (fruits, nuts, and vegetables) for which California is either the exclusive or nationally dominant producer.

Orderly Marketing

Born of depression experiences, the California Marketing Act invokes the police power of the state to effect an "orderly" marketing system. Specifically, it authorizes the coordination of supply and demand by control of the volume and quality of a commodity reaching the market place (supply restriction), and the stimulation of commodity consumption through research and advertising (demand stimulation). Other optional provisions, such as pack regulations and programs to eliminate trade barriers, concentrate on creating orderly marketing procedures.

Orders may apply to producers, "handlers" (generally processors), or both, with the proviso that each segment of the industry which is "directly affected" must approve the order by written assent or by a referendum. Approval must represent 51 percent of the eligible grower membership, and 65 percent of the commodity volume, or the reverse. The proposed tomato order was approved by 51.7 percent of the growers, who represented only 46.2 of the voting tonnage, so the order failed.

The State Director of Agriculture retains jurisdiction over all operational orders, but in practice most of the policy decisions are made by a representative commodity advisory board. The right of a majority of eligible producers or handlers to terminate any order by petition serves as a check on both the director and the advisory board.

Supply Management

The tomato order was noteworthy because it represented the first recent attempt to develop a supply management order for a major commodity, and because it included a proposal for allocation of returns among producers according to quotas based upon production history (historical quota), rather than upon current production. The major proponent of the order, the Stockton-based California Tomato Growers Association, a bargaining cooperative, argued that supply control was necessary to correct the over-expansion of California production capacity occurring as consequence of the mechanization of the tomato harvest during the last five years.

Robert Holt, the Association's Executive Vice-President, justified the use of quotas as necessary to allow producers to maximize their returns per acre by producing only what they could actually sell. According to Holt, processors habitually over-contract with growers, with the result that in a good year a substantial percentage of each producer's crop will be either rejected or diverted to by-product use.

Opponents, led by major processors, countered with arguments that the association really wanted to hold the tomato price at an artificially high level, that such an effort would lead to expanded production outside of California and thus be self-defeating, and that historical quotas would curb expansion of efficient production units. Caught in the center of this intra-industry conflict, the State Director of Agriculture put the proposed order out for vote, despite the fact that his predecessors had always interpreted the CMA as not containing authorization for historical quotas, and then was charged by Holt with delaying the vote in such a manner as to assure under-representation of the potential supporters.

Question Not Settled

The defeat of the order left the legality and desirability of quotas unsettled. Legislation specifically authorizing their use was defeated in a storm of controversy as recently as 1963. However, the CMA's major volume control program, the cling peach order, contains "green drop" and "tree pull credit" features which border on production controls, and the department operates a brussels sprouts program under a similar law (the little-used Agricultural Producers Marketing Law) which, in its opinion, authorizes such quotas.

Some producers of other California commodities with surplus problems were clearly hopeful that the promulgation, approval, and subsequent legal validation of the tomato order would establish a principle which would provide a potential weapon with which they might protect themselves from the threat of expanded production, particularly from vast acreages now being developed on the San Joaquin Valley's west side with the help of the State Water Project. Such producers feel that programs for marketing control without historical quotas tend to require producers who

(Continued on next page)

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PEOPLE IN THE NEWS

APPOINTED

Louis J. Angelo, 40, formerly consultant to the Assembly Committees on Ways and Means, and Elections and Reapportionment, as Chief Administrative Officer of the Assembly, by the Rules Committee.

Senator Peter H. Behr, 55, (R-Marin County) as the State Senate's representative on the San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission, by Senate pro Tempore James Mills.

Hugh M. Burns, 68, Democratic State Senator from Fresno who retired last year after 34 years in the Legislature, including 12 years as President pro Tempore, to the Alcoholic Beverage Control Appeals Board, by Governor Reagan.

Robert B. Carlson, 39, deputy director of the Department of Public Works since 1968, as Director of the State Department of Social Welfare, by Governor Reagan, succeeding Robert Martin, who resigned.

Dr. Stanford Cazier, 40, vice provost of Utah State University and former history professor, as President of Chico State College, by the Trustees of the California State Colleges.

Jay Davis and Mrs. Catherine Hightower as Chairman and Executive Director of the newly created Consumer Fraud Task Force, by Governor Reagan.

William A. Evans, 32, assistant legislative secretary since 1969, as legislative assistant to the Governor for liaison with the California State Assembly, by Governor Reagan.

James M. Hall, 36, Secretary of the Business and Transportation Agency and former Superintendent of Banks, as Secretary of the Human Relations Agency, by Governor Reagan, succeeding Lucian B. Vandegrift, who resigned.

A. Alan Hill, 32, assistant to Secretary for Resources Norman B. Livermore, as Deputy Director of the State Department of Conservation, by Governor Reagan.

John T. Kehoe, 39, an educational consultant within the Governor's Office since 1969, as legislative assistant to the Governor for liaison with the California State Senate, by Governor Reagan.

Dr. Marie Y. Martin, former President of Pierce College in Los Angeles, as special assistant for community college development within the U.S. Office of Education, by U.S. Commissioner Sidney P. Marland.

Thomas H. McGrath, 53, Assistant Executive Vice Chancellor of the California State Colleges and a licensed psychologist, as President of Sonoma State College, by the Trustees of the California State Colleges.

Frederick F. Perelli-Minetti, 46, Delano wine and agricultural leader who helped develop a winery operation minimizing air pollution, to a four-year term on the State Air Resources Board, by Governor Reagan.

Dr. Max Rafferty, former Superintendent of Public Instruction defeated for re-election in 1970, as Dean of Education at Troy State University in Troy, Alabama.

John C. Williamson, 58, former Assemblyman from Kern County from 1959-1966 and Consultant to the Joint Committee on Open Space Lands of the California Legislature, as Executive Officer of the Senate by the Rules Committee.

Evelle J. Younger, 52, State Attorney General, as Chairman of the California Council on Criminal Justice, the agency for administering federal anti-crime funds, by Governor Reagan.

ELECTED

Putnam Livermore, 48, San Francisco attorney, former director of the San Francisco Legal Aid Society, and Vice Chairman of the Republican Party, as GOP State Central Committee Chairman.

Charles S. Manatt, 34, Van Nuys attorney instrumental in the campaign to elect John V. Tunney to the U.S. Senate, as Democratic State Central Committee Chairman.

GROWERS *(Continued from previous page)*

exercise voluntarily production restraints to subsidize those who do not, since the blend returns of all become equal.

On the other hand, it has been argued frequently that the absence of quotas constitutes an important safeguard for marketing orders, since the relative lack of output restrictions usually means that there is sufficient production pressure to keep industry prices competitive and force an aggressive search for new markets. This production pressure appears most clearly in the California citrus and nut industries, where the marketing orders tend to be a reflection of the policies of dominant farmer-owned processing cooperatives. However, production pressure is less tolerable to farmers in commodities such as tomatoes, where it has the effect of undermining the leverage that a bargaining cooperative can exert on major independent processors.

A number of existing supply management problems for California commodities (including citrus and nuts) have been developed under the provisions of a parallel federal marketing order law. Preference for the federal law may be based upon one or more of several considerations, including interstate production patterns and anti-import provisions. The federal law has recently been amended to permit research and promotion programs under certain circumstances, but the CMA remains the unchallenged leader in this area, with more than thirty such orders.

While the effectiveness of commodity promotion programs is difficult to measure, they have frequently replaced voluntary programs because of the power to eliminate "freeloading" by compelling equal financial contributions from all producers.

It is unclear whether the defeat of the tomato order pressages the continued dominance of promotion over supply management in California farm marketing policy. State and federal officials have been openly skeptical about some of the more expansive claims made by the advocates of supply control orders. However, the increasing antipathy towards publicity subsidized farm programs and the increasing militance of producer bargaining groups could lead to repeated attempts to establish supply management orders, with or without historical quotas. In California, at least (the vote manipulation controversy aside), it appears that department officials are willing to afford commodity producers the opportunity for self-determination of these proposals, although they will not otherwise encourage their use.

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Party Time in Washington

The splendid diversity of America again overcame the silliness of its semi-public spectacles when the 92nd Congress opened business to the popping of champagne corks and the self-congratulations of congressional camp followers.

The man of the hour was Carl Albert of Oklahoma, whom Minority Leader Gerry Ford described with faint praise as "a Rhodes scholar who turned out okay" and who was so superstitious about his elevation that he allowed no one to address him as Speaker until the House vote was formally announced.

Rhodes scholar he may be, but Albert is Oklahoman to the core, and his mammoth reception in the presidential ballroom of the Statler-Hilton was dominated by red-faced men with lapel badges reading "Happy" or "Smoky" or "Gabby" who slapped everyone and each other on the back and constantly described The Ascension of Carl Albert as "the greatest thing that ever happened." Suspecting that they meant this literally (ranking the Albert election as slightly above, say, the Resurrection and a light year ahead of the Sermon on the Mount), your correspondent fled two floors above to the reception for Berkeley congressman Ron Dellums, where 50 or so supporters in identically tailored Afro haircuts listened to Mrs. Dellums speak with pride of her son ("If being radical means wanting a better life for blacks and browns and white poor, then Ron's proud to be a radical") and otherwise seemed as remarkably taken with their achievement as the Oklahomans in the ballroom below.

Not all receptions were ones of welcome. At a stag party in honor of the departing Gene McCarthy, the Minnesota senator's friends, newly elected House Majority Leader Hale Boggs among them, drank and said goodbye and listened to McCarthy recite the poetry that estranged him from the Senate. The reception of Lloyd Bentsen, the new Democratic senator from Texas, became a virtual wake for Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia, who died while the welcoming receptions were just beginning.

Perhaps the most thankful party was the one held by Rep. Victor Veysey of Riverside, who survived some anxious moments on the floor awaiting a legal challenge to his election that never came. The absence of a challenge was no accident. Democratic Rep. Chet Holifield of Montebello, dean of the delegation, flatly refused to lodge a challenge based on the claim of defeated Democratic candidate Dave Tunno that voters were illegally stricken from the rolls. Another Democrat, Rep. Robert Leggett of Vallejo, toyed with the notion of having Veysey step aside but changed his mind when Republicans H. Allen Smith of Glendale and Bob Wilson of San Diego said they would challenge Leggett's seating if he blocked Veysey. It all ended happily, except for Tunno.

California champagne was the order of the day at the Veysey party, where irrepressible State Assemblyman Bill Bagley, the chairman of the Assembly Welfare Committee, with an apology to departed presidential advisor Pat Moynihan, called for some "benign neglect" of welfare rhetoric.

But the best bar and the brightest party was in the new Senate Office Building room where California Sen. John V. Tunney held sway. Tunney avoided his own bar entirely and didn't need it. He was, for most of the day, in a state of mild euphoria about actually serving in the United States Senate ("This is absolutely marvelous," he said at one point), and he waved with unsenatorial abandon to his children in the Senate gallery during the opening ceremonies.

Not even the defeat of his friend, Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, as Senate whip dampened Tunney's spirits for long. Kennedy was stunned by the defeat, but Tunney, who expresses himself with a natural candor that enhances his vulnerability, joked about it in a way that Kennedy might not have tolerated from others.

"What do you think of me as a (vote) counter?" Tunney said at one point with a big, boyish grin.

"I was doing fine before you came to the Senate," replied Kennedy, managing a smile of his own.

★ ★ ★

Congress, for its part, was doing just fine before President Nixon's thoughtful state of the union message came along to further tromp on congressional perquisites and remind congressmen of the country's demands for change. The bureaucracies that the President would dismantle and reassemble have, if anything, more clout in the Congress than in the executive branch.

"It's a great idea but it doesn't have a snowball's chance in hell," said Al Smith of Nixon's reorganization proposal, in a probably accurate assessment of its political prospects. Smith, the ranking Republican on the House Rules Committee, is a member of the GOP House leadership team that meets weekly with Nixon.

Rep. John Moss, Democrat from Sacramento, capitalized on Atty. General John Mitchell's incapacity for understatement in his own reaction. Mitchell had in advance called the written speech the greatest document since the U.S. Constitution. "It was not the greatest document since the Constitution," commented Moss.

And Gov. Ronald Reagan, who met with Nixon for an hour the Saturday after the speech and praised it to the President and to the press, observed the similarities between the Nixon reorganization plan and his own California reorganization.

Noting the presence of Californians, among them Deputy Budget Director Cap Weinberger, in the Nixon administration, Reagan commented with a smile:

"Perhaps it is involuntary plagiarism."

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Selected State Government Reports

CRIME AND PENOLOGY

The Los Angeles Community Delinquency Control Project: An Experiment in the Rehabilitation of Delinquents in an Urban Community. By Esther M. Pond. Department of the Youth Authority, 714 P St., Sacramento 95814. September 1970, 65 pages.

The Single Trial Court: A Plan for Court Reorganization in California. Assembly Interim Committee on the Judiciary. September 1970, 62 pages. Transcript of the hearing.

EDUCATION

Annual Report on Faculty Salaries and Fringe Benefits, 1971-72. Coordinating Council for Higher Education, 1020 12th St., Sacramento 95814. Facts and figures relating to the council's recommendation that salaries and fringe benefits for University and state college faculty be increased in the 1971-72 state budget.

Compensatory Education in the California Youth Authority, 1969-70; Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title I. Department of the Youth Authority, 714 P St., Sacramento 95814. December 1970, 32 pages. Program description and evaluation.

The Department of Education's Annual Report on Public Education in California 1969-1970. State Department of Education, 721 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814. December 1970, 69 pages. A description of the activities of the department under the broad subject headings of instruction and administration.

Laws Relating to Nursing Education — Licensure — Practices with Rules and Regulations. Department of Professional and Vocational Standards, 1020 N St., Sacramento 95814. 1970, 46 pages.

ELECTIONS

California Newspaper Editorial Endorsements: Influence on Ballot Measures. By James E. Gregg, Institute of Governmental Affairs, University of California, Davis 95616. ($2 ea.) September 1970, 55 pages.

THE ENVIRONMENT

California's Open Land Space Program. By Senator George Danielson. State Capitol, Sacramento 95814. January 1971, 87 pages. A preliminary survey of the application and impact of the Williamson Act in the state, particularly in Kern County. The report urges that rapid expansion of the open space land program is causing a serious revenue loss to local government.

Ecology and the Law. Assembly Interim Committee on Judiciary. September 1970, 121 pages. Transcript of hearing.

Geophysical Investigations for Geothermal Energy Sources, Imperial Valley, Calif. Institute of Geophysics and Planetary Physics, University of California at Riverside. July 1970, 22 pages. Covers Phase I: 1968 Field Project.

A Joint Report to the Legislature on Air Pollution Health Effects and Emergency Actions. Air Resources Board, 1108 14th St., Sacramento 95814, and the Dept. of Public Health. November 1970, 16 pages. Studies the effects of photochemical and carbon monoxide air pollution on mortality rates, morbidity, and the incidence of emphysema and discusses current and projected air pollution levels and the need for emergency counter-measures.

Preliminary Report of Public Utilities Commission's Findings and Recommendations. Public Utilities Commission. Printed in full, Senate Jl., January 11, 1971, 2 pages. A preliminary examination of criteria for siting electric generating plants.

Report on Cost and Control of Litter. Department of Public Works, Division of Highways, 1120 N St., Sacramento 95814. December 1970, 8 pages. A report on the current cost of highway litter control, methods, and recommendations for new courses of action.

State of California Activities Affecting Environmental Protection and Improvement. Environmental Quality Study Council, 1400 10th St., Sacramento 95814. 1970, 8 pages. Fourth draft of report compiled jointly by EQSC and the Environmental Policy Commission.

GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Staff Recommendations for Legislative Action. Joint Assembly Subcommittee on Premature Subdivisions. January 1971, 9 pages.

Digest of 1970 Legislation Affecting Cities; Regular Session. League of California Cities, 2nd flr., 1108 O St., Sacramento 95814. December 1970, 74 pages. ($4 ea. plus tax).

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California Water Commission — Construction, Operation, and Maintenance of the State Water Project. Department of Water Resources, 1416 9th St., Sacramento 95814. December 1970, 8 pages. Findings and recommendations of the commission in connection with annual inspection of State Water Resources Development System.

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A Review of the Economic Effiicency of California Correctional Industries. January 1971, 27 pages. Joint report with the Auditor General on the economic efficiency of the California correctional industries.

Aid To Families with Dependent Children — Financial Characteristics Survey. January 1971, 37 pages. A report on the income of a random sampling of Sacramento County families receiving AFDC aid and the laws and regulations which appear to encourage abuse of the AFDC program, with suggested statewide reforms.

California Medical Assistance Program — County Hospital Bills. December 1970, 7 pages. Discusses practicability of a plan for county hospitals to submit Medi-Cal bills directly to the Department of Health Care Services for payment.

Excess Cost to School Districts Resulting from Low Income Target Areas. January 1971, 31 pages. Report identifies major categories of excess cost in 9 target school districts and estimates their impact on a statewide basis; discusses possibilities for a state support program.

Implications of Converting Community Colleges to Four-Year Institutions. January 1971, 36 pages. Brief analysis of the ability of the community colleges to absorb students turned away from the University and the state colleges.

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Knowledge will forever govern ignorance. And a people who mean to be their own governors, must arm themselves with the power knowledge gives. –James Madison

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